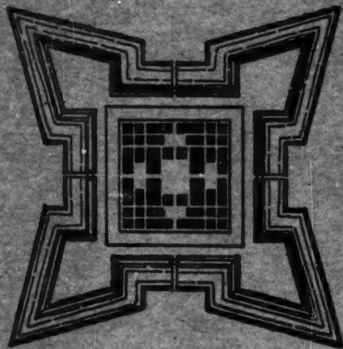
LANDSCAPE



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SUBURBS AND PLANNERS
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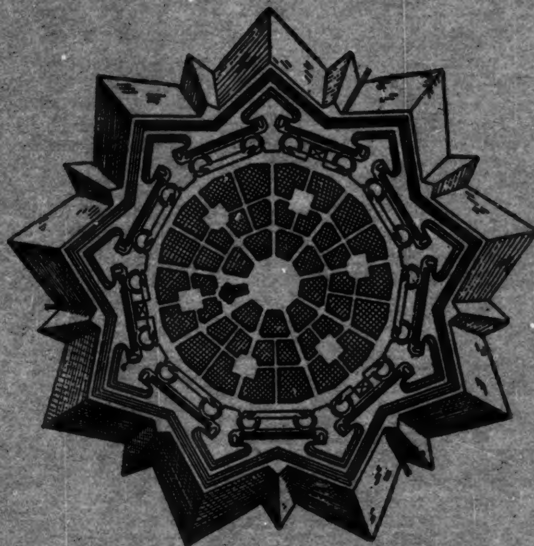

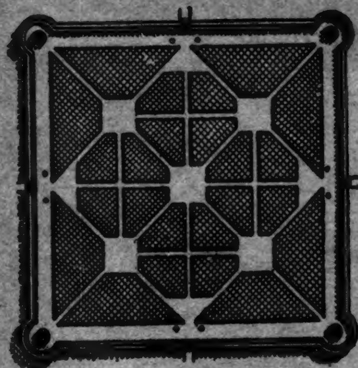

VOL. XI NO. 1

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LANDSCAPE

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FALL 1961

VOL. 11 NO. 1

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Expulsion from the garden

WE TRUST that all readers of LANDSCAPE will share our dismay at a recent piece of news from Germany. A campaign is underway in that country to eliminate the garden dwarf from public view.

As an ornament, the dwarf has never enjoyed wide popularity in America, but as part of our childhood lore the fairy tale dwarf has a large and devoted following. He has an even more devoted following in Central Europe, and his plaster or cement statue, brightly painted, has long been conspicuous in many modest gardens and flowerbeds in that part of the world. He pushes a miniature wheelbarrow, holds a red umbrella over his head, or fishes in a bird bath. A harmless and friendly little being, he is now threatened with extinction.

The crusade is proceeding in a thoroughly German manner on two fronts: the legislative and the philosophical. A North German city has forbidden garden dwarfs—presumably on publicly owned land—and in Southern Germany a learned society recently devoted the better part of two day-long sessions to an analysis of the psychological, mythological and politico-historical significance of the garden dwarf. The result was an almost unanimous verdict of undesirable.

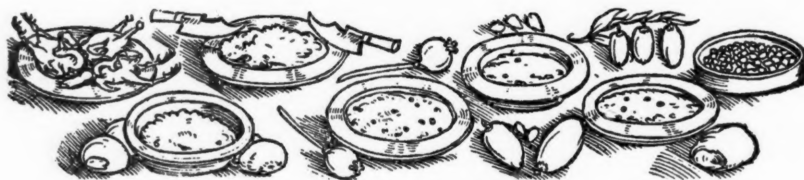
The reasons were several, not all of them in our opinion equally weighty. At the start of the proceedings the garden dwarf was d e n o u n c e d as "kitsch"—meaning bad taste of a very popular and undistinguished sort. Even worse, he was mass-produced kitsch, for no one now carves or models his own garden dwarf. They can be bought in a variety of colors, sizes and attitudes in any garden shop. It was then revealed by one of the panel that, contrary to general belief, the dwarf is not an archetype at all; he is a comparatively recent figment. He is in fact a sexual symbol, quite out of place in a family garden. In reality the dwarf has nothing to do with gardens; it was a 19th Century misconception which introduced him there. Finally it was pointed out that most of the garden dwarfs on the German market were of Italian manufacture. One forlorn note of protest was sounded. During the last session a brave woman stood up to declare that she owned three garden dwarfs and loved them all.

What distresses us about this campaign is not primarily that the forces of good taste are on one of their periodic rampages of public education. We are well aware that the war between art and kitsch is unending and indecisive. For every hardwon triumph for chamber music a new Liberace appears; a Picasso reproduction in the living room is matched by a builder's supply calendar in the office—a colored picture of two hunters at breakfast, surprised by a bear. As with an operatic duet, there is no use taking sides in the matter; all that we can do is to try to enjoy the contest.

WHAT WE think we see behind this drive, however, is another stealthy attempt on the part of the extremists among nature worshipers to quarantine still one more fragment of the green outdoors, to protect a little more of nature from the defiling presence of man and his works. We would be among the last to deny that protection of this sort is often necessary, but the garden seems to us the worst place to start. For this is precisely where men have already established a very satisfactory relationship with other forms of life, where we have manipulated and tamed nature to suit our convenience. It was in the garden that we first taught wild plants to be vegetables and to grow in rows, and taught wild animals to work for their keep. The garden is *not* a shrine; by rights it is an extension of the house, an extension of the living room and workshop and kitchen; it is even a kind of school where we learn what we can and cannot do to the outside world, and what the outside world can and cannot do for us. Bad taste in every form should be as inviolate here as on the mantelpiece. If we are to surround our workaday lives with untouchable shrubbery,

unwalkable lawns, unpickable flowers, the long range results could be disastrous. We would begin to spend our vacations reacting violently against nature worship, desecrating the green outdoors on an even more grandiose scale than now. The garden at least offers us a chance to transform nature in any way we fancy without doing great harm. A dwarf in the garden may in the long run prove to be less of an evil than a destructive monster in the wilderness.

MICROFILM
A complete file of LANDSCAPE *from Volume I through Volume X is now available on microfilm. The cost of the first five volumes (Spring 1951 through Spring 1955) is $10.00; of the first ten volumes (Spring 1951 through Spring 1961) is $20.00. Orders should be sent to the Circulation Manager, Box 2149, Santa Fe, New Mexico.*



Food and Drink

AMATEURS of gastronomy who maintain that there are only three genuine cuisines in the world: the French, the Italian and the Chinese, will be surprised by the assertion of two German geographers, Erika and Heinrich Schmitthenner, that there are no fewer than fourteen distinct cuisines in Europe alone. Their findings, the result of many years of field investigation and the study of menus, cookbooks, household guides, travelers' reports and regional novels, are published in a recent issue of a geographical review from Leipzig.

It is true that they write as scientists, not as gourmets, and that their researches on the subject of "Food and Drink in Europe" were completed in 1921. Since then most Europeans, eastern and western alike, have learned to eat more meat, more fresh fruits and vegetables, less bread and fewer potatoes. The deep freeze, quick transportation and distribution of perishables, to say nothing of a growing concern for weight and balanced diets have done much to produce a certain uniformity in our eating habits. But geographically considered food is not simply a matter of *what* we eat; it is also how we prepare it, in what combinations it is served, at what times of day, and what we drink with it. A complex of such characteristics is, according to the Schmitthenners, what identifies a particular cuisine. The principal meal of the day is throughout most of Europe at noon—except in Spain where it is at two p.m. or later; but in England and the Netherlands (where hearty breakfasts are the rule) dinner is in the evening. So is it in Italy and Greece—only there it is because of the heat of the noon hour. Flour, whether wheat or rye or barley, rather than bread is the staff of life. It takes the form of white bread in England and France (where the Schmitthenners believe it originated) but in Italy and parts of Central Europe it appears in the guise of spaghetti or noodles. Barley is even more versatile than wheat; it is made into bread in Russia, into porridge in the remoter parts of Scandinavia and into whiskey in Scotland. The authors in fact specifically list whiskey as a form of nourishment, most essential in damp, raw climates—which is where barley grows. Of all the European cuisines they discuss that of Lapland is the most archaic and perhaps the least appetizing. Everything edible is thrown together, haphazardly flavored with flowers, leaves, berries, and briefly boiled with reindeer meat. The Laplanders also make a kind of pancake out of meal and reindeer blood. What makes this diet archaic is not so much its lack of variety as its exclusive dependence on the wild things the Laplanders can either catch or pick; that and their propensity to boil everything in a kind of stew; separate dishes as well as a prescribed order of courses is the mark of a more highly developed cuisine. Our ancestors of not many centuries ago still subsisted largely on various forms of gruel and porridge, eaten with bread. It is in fact from that archaic porridge that many typically national dishes are descended: English breakfast oatmeal, for one, with its American variation of cream of wheat and such degenerate forms as boxed breakfast cereals. In France, where there is usually a wider variety of fresh vegetables available, the porridge or gruel became soup. In Central Europe it became the dumpling. The potato dumpling is a further variation. In its original form gruel is still eaten in Southern Italy and Sardinia, and cornmeal gruel (like the potato dumpling, inspired by the New World) is eaten in Northern Italy and Rumania. Many rice dishes are actually further variations on that aboriginal porridge. There are beer cuisines and wine (and cider) cuisines; cuisines like the English where the meat is cooked in one piece or like the French where it is often sliced and given a sauce; or again like the Italian and the Near Eastern, where it is reduced to small pieces. England, Portugal and Russia have at least one trait in common: a preference for tea over coffee. Had the Schmitthenners been writing within the last decade, they would have listed Turkey among the tea-drinking countries.

THIS ENGROSSING study (complete with 21 maps) prompts the natural question—where does our American cuisine come from? Evidence shows that we are still part of the English tradition as far as food is concerned. Like the English (and unlike anyone else) we eat pickled food with our meals, butter our bread, make toast out of it, prefer beer and hard liquor to cider and wine. On the other hand we differ from the English in eat-

ing little fish, little lamb, and in drinking little tea. In our enthusiasm for milk and milk products we are almost Alpine, in our consumption of corn we are Balkan—except that we alone eat it off the cob. Our use of flour in pancakes, waffles, biscuits, pies and so on has no parallel outside South Central Europe—Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; and we are growing increasingly partial to stews and casserole mixtures which the Schmitthenners identify with the Mediterranean countries. Possibly we are still evolving our national cuisine, in part inherited from England, Central Europe and the Mediterranean, in part influenced by our year-round abundance of fruit and vegetables, our need for haste, and our preoccupation with health.

The Schmitthenners would say that these are all legitimate influences in the formation of a cuisine; for a point they take pains to make is that the food people eat is only partially determined by their environment. Obscure prehistoric traditions, religious injunctions, the influence of a court, the work habits of farmers all helped form these regional cuisines. The objection of Texans to fish, of many Westerners to lamb are latter day American instances of how prejudice still operates in the kitchen.

WE ARE HAPPY to note that the one distinct cuisine in this country—other than the prevailing Anglo-European one—is to be found in the Southwest. Its use of unleavened bread in the form of tortillas indicates its archaic or Indian background, though its profusion of spices and flavors, as well as its dependence on chopped meat links it to the Mediterranean—especially to Spain.

TWO-YEAR SUBSCRIPTIONS

We would like to suggest to our subscribers that a two-year subscription ($5.00, no special rate) would reduce their correspondence with LANDSCAPE *and would save us considerable time now being spent on annual billing.*

Images of The City

SHEDDING A discreet tear over the demolition of the ornamental plazas at both ends of the Manhattan Bridge—they are or were handsome semi-circular colonnades somewhat in the manner of John Barrington Bayley's dreams of a Neo-Baroque metropolis—the *New York Times* observed that the city is inimical to public works of art on a relatively human scale. Why? Because "New York has grown like some giant crystal in a pattern formed by the constriction of the space in which the components are deposited," the editorial explained. "Unlike a work of art, the city is anonymous and impersonal; its spectacular form, although composed of an infinite number of man-designed units, is self-determined."

Neatly put; and the *Times* continued in the same geological vein: "Seen from a distance or from the air, the city is like a new natural phenomenon, created not by the tensions of the earth's crust that forces up mountains, or by the erosion that modifies their forms, but by the economic circumstances that thrust skyscrapers into the air and by the problems of human existence that have channeled routes to and through them. The demolition of the two plazas is, from this point of view, as inevitable and as natural as erosion in Nature."

Here we actually have a choice of two ingenious similes: the city as a crystal, fulfilling a mysteriously preordained pattern, and the city as a kind of mountain landscape—tenements, department stores, office buildings slowly, majestically heaving out of the earth in response to an irresistible force, only to be divided and worn down and finally reduced to rubble by the incessant passage of trucks, buses, taxis, by the busy feet of commuters, shoppers, policemen, Western Union messengers. While we cannot vouch for the geological accuracy of the comparison, we recognize and admire its cosmic quality. In the past, in order to emphasize the anti-human aspects of the city, critics have been content to liken it to a wen, to an octopus, to a cancer, to hell; how much to be preferred is the *Times's* comparing New York to a man-made mountain range, solemnly burying itself in its own avalanches!

IT IS USUALLY the detached spectator of the city—the planner or urban geographer or sociologist—who sees it primarily in terms of flux and change: these similes of multiplying cells, of encircling tentacles, of increasing communication loads, of floods and erosion correspond to *his* notion of the essential urban landscape—a landscape of movement and perpetual aimless growth. But does the city dweller himself understand the city in these terms? Does he want to understand it in these terms? We have our doubts. It is easy to admire a man-made mountain range and to boast of its highest peaks, but are we likely to choose to live and raise a family in any of the more notorious landslide areas? If every event—the destruction of a monument suddenly become too small, the destruction of a park suddenly become an obstacle to traffic—is, in the words of the *Times,* natural and inevitable, what point is there in trying to play a decisive role in the city's life? And it is not probable that many persons would willingly pay taxes for the maintenance of a mountain range which is inevitably and naturally eroding itself—and them—out of existence.

The geological simile demands that we view the city from a distance or from the air, just as the biological simile demands that we see it through a microscope. But for most New Yorkers their city is seen through a windshield, from a bedroom window, from a crowded sidewalk; on the way to school, to the office, to the drugstore. The Alpine perspective (and indeed the microscopic perspective) may inspire the artist, but the citizen is inspired—if that is the word for his reaction—by confronting the city on a strictly human level.

That is why there still seems something to be said for those human allegories of states and cities—Columbia, Britannia, Lutetia, Berolina, Pallas Athene. Remnants of a forgotten mythology, now surviving chiefly as convenient clichés for political cartoonists, they once provided the townsman with a vivid image of the society he lived in. The classically garbed female divinity had her shortcomings; the array of obsolete weapons and implements—swords, scales, crown and torch and laurel branch—was a way of defying all progress, and the tight steel breastplate sternly repudiated the notion of urban sprawl. But an affront to her dignity was something easily understood and resented in common human terms. The stripping of two ornaments (in the form of monumental plazas) from such a figure would have been an action few officials would be bold enough to undertake.

We are already living in cities which can only be interpreted in terms of electronic or bio-chemical models, and the devising of such models is one of the problems facing those who are concerned with keeping our cities alive. But for most of us the human image dies hard; destroy it in one place and we look for it in another. Perhaps the flight of many of us from the city to the suburbs is in part at least such a search: for a smaller, more understandable community: the village whose unchanging image is the super-family.

THE WEATHER IN THE CITY

Mary Steen

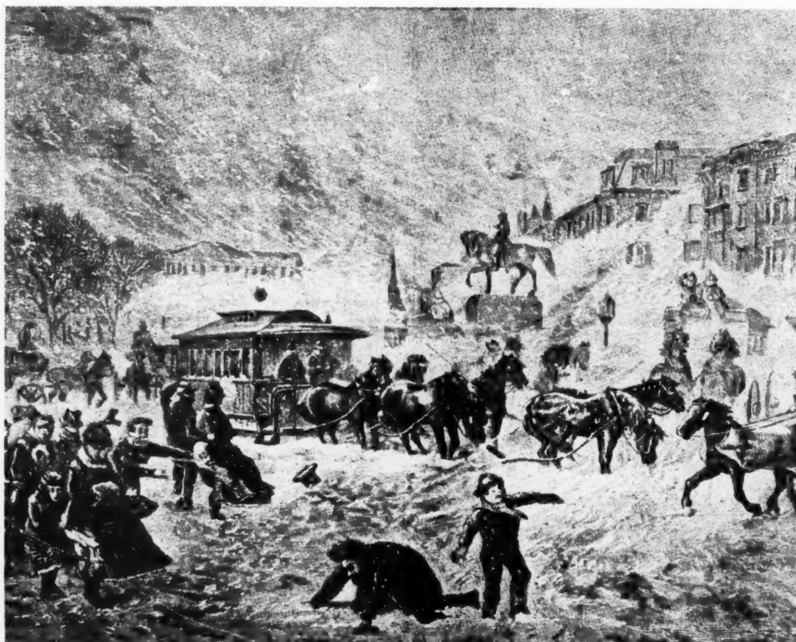
A LEGEND IN ITS own time, the great blizzard which descended on New York in March, 1888, grew from newspaper headlines into tradition, and along with the Chicago fire, the San Francisco earthquake, and the Johnstown flood is part of the country's national memory. Why should such events, personal to only a number of men, be of so much interest to all?

In his classic study, Pitirim Sorokin names famine, conquest, revolution, and pestilence as the major calamities and relates the history of many years, the social changes in many countries to the impact of these forces. The blizzard which has risen to so eminent a position in our national history is not a calamity, but might be termed a disaster, and here a distinction may be drawn which perhaps accounts for the popularity of the blizzard and similar occurrences in folklore.

Calamities are man-made, even famine to a certain extent being brought about by man's mismanagement. These are to mankind's collective conscience both an accusation and a responsibility. Man was responsible for the havoc wrought by this war, the spread of that pestilence. A disaster like the Johnstown flood or the blizzard of '88 is large, awe-inspiring, and not of his doing. All men are in this together, and misfortunes of this type tend to bring about a temporary levelling of all classes of society. There was a comradeship born of the disaster for which man had no guilt. The blizzard was to everybody's credit and was nobody's fault.

New York City at that time wore on its surface a network of cables, pipes, and wires which constituted the veins of transportation, communications, and in part utilities. Horsecars on the surface, and elevated steam powered trains

Union Square during the height of the storm. Although less than two feet of snow fell in New York, drifts reached to the second story of houses on the north side of streets.



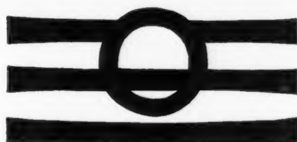
furnished common transportation. In his book *The Blizzard of '88,* (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1960. $6.00). Irvin Werstein vividly describes the period beginning on Saturday, March 10, when the blizzard, unheralded by the weather forecasts, temporarily captured the city. Exposed telegraph and telephone wires had fallen within a few hours of the storm's beginning, for by Sunday night sleet was turning to snow, a wind was steadily rising, and as the temperature fell, the blizzard was master of the city.

A blizzard is not one kind of weather, but three kinds working in the same spot, not together but against one another—or certainly against man. For a blizzard is a combination of winds of gale force, a heavy snow, and a below-freezing temperature. Any two of these meeting together would have inconvenienced New York, but the three caused a disaster. On Monday morning, the life of the city almost ceased pulsing, and yet man struggled to maintain their usual routine. Leaving their homes, workers found that there was no transportation available. Horsecars began their usual course, and then stopped in the snow. High above the city, as the elevated trains waited, hundreds sat thoroughly chilled in the unheated wooden cars, and waited rescue by ladder.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS firemen and policemen remained organized, and maintained order in a city where communications had dropped to a village level. New York was spared the criminals who often prey on a stricken place, the looters who follow on floods and other disasters, because of the intense cold. But it was not spared the profiteers. Passengers in stalled trains outside the city, people crowding into restaurants in the city itself, found the highest prices charged, and were forced to pay them.

In the tenements the poor suffered both the cold and from lack of food. Accustomed to buying coal in small quantities and food as they could, they found scarcity of both. Milk could not be delivered to the houses; restaurants fortunate enough to have milk charged seventy-five cents a glass for it. High above the river, hundreds crawled across the Brooklyn Bridge, until the police closed the great structure, fearing that heavy incrustation of ice and the additional burden of people would cause it to break. In Washington, when the telegraph was finally working again, the Congress became uneasy. For they had been cut off from the whole country, and there was fear of what might happen in such a time.

One of the results of the blizzard was



the building of the subway system, and at once weather reporting assumed a new significance. Cables were moved underground.

A modern weather conscious philosophy names the hurricanes, Abigail or Bettina. These descendants of George Stewart's Maria are given the whimsical, tyrannical personalities of capricious women. The blizzard in newspaper accounts, and in Mr. Werstein's story has no personality; that characteristic belongs to the people who emerge as antagonists to the storm itself.

What of New York, 1961, and a blizzard? How would one of the world's greatest cities wake up to a morning of blizzard today? The best communications the world has ever known would probably have told the people half-way across the world of the weather before the citizen saw it himself. He would listen to the radio, and decide to go out, after all this was only weather. Thus in a few hours automobiles would line the highways from the Stratford Tolls on the Connecticut freeway to the end of the New Jersey pike. The George Washington bridge would be closed to traffic, and trains would not move. Subways would begin the day's work but the power would fail, and hundreds would wait underground in the dark. With elevators stalled between floors, those in offices and apartments, would be isolated. Just as in 1888, neighborhood stores would soon find food supplies exhausted, and men's desperate shovels would make only tiny paths to the corner. The blizzard would be in possession of the city.

ONCE MAN HAD built a house and put a door on it, and found a neighbor with whom he could agree, he had done as much as he could in combatting nature. In the year 500, or 1888, or 1961, the weather is not easily predicted, not easily combatted. Man is now as mobile as his own rubber boots, and must still accept the fact that, while he may conquer space, on such a day the milkman cannot come.

New Street, N. Y., after the storm. Every one of New York's 6,000 telephones went dead; telegraph communication to Boston and Washington was by way of cable to London.

"In Japan . . . beauty is something that has to be worked for, earned; it is the reward for a long and sometimes painful search; it is the final attainment of insight, a jealously guarded possession; there is a great deal of vulgarity about beauty that is immediately perceptible. The historical links of this aesthetic approach are not so much with truth and understanding: they take us at once into the fields of intuition-illumination (satori,) taste and the heart. In one way it can be called a romantic attitude to beauty; from another angle it can be said that, as the beautiful is always recondite, it is an aristocratic attitude.

Hence it follows that to associate a town, the place where everybody comes and goes, the public domain par excellence, with beauty would be absurd. Japanese towns are always merely tools for working and living in, impermanent entities serving mere practical ends. They contain beauty, of course, but first of all you must desire it and seek it out, and then, perhaps in the end it may be granted you to find it. Then, if you find it, it will offer you subtleties unimagined elsewhere, among secluded gardens and temples, or villas where the most perfect communion between man and his environment is achieved. In Japan beauty is like an island, a whispered word, a moment of pure intoxication to be retained in the memory forever.

BEAUTY AND THE CITY IN JAPAN

It is noteworthy, for example, that Japanese towns are almost entirely lacking in "smart" streets. . . In Japan there are residential quarters, with quiet avenues where walls and gates barely allow you to guess the existence within of an elegant luxury that refrains from the slightest hint of display: and there are smart amusement quarters which suggest and hint rather than say and show.

All this opens unexpected glimpses into habits of secrecy, exclusion, withdrawal and also of aristocratic contempt for luxury; a world of private gatherings of persons to whom the public gaze is abhorrent; a life lived in isolated cliques and groups; small coteries of initiates, the elect, those favored with special privileges. The street? Why, it belongs to everybody, and hence by definition cannot be elegant, delicate, civilized. No one will ever convince me that the Japanese do not take an involuntary pleasure in the slovenliness with which they build their towns, as if to surround and protect their real treasures with a thick layer of ugliness. The ugliness of their streets, which are indiscriminate jumbles of huge hideous structures of reinforced concrete and of huts, revolting hovels, and houses of every conceivable style, covered with advertising slogans and invariably disfigured with huge telegraph posts with untidy tangles of wire, has to be seen to be believed."

—Fosco Maraini: *Meeting With Japan*
London, Hutchinson, 1959

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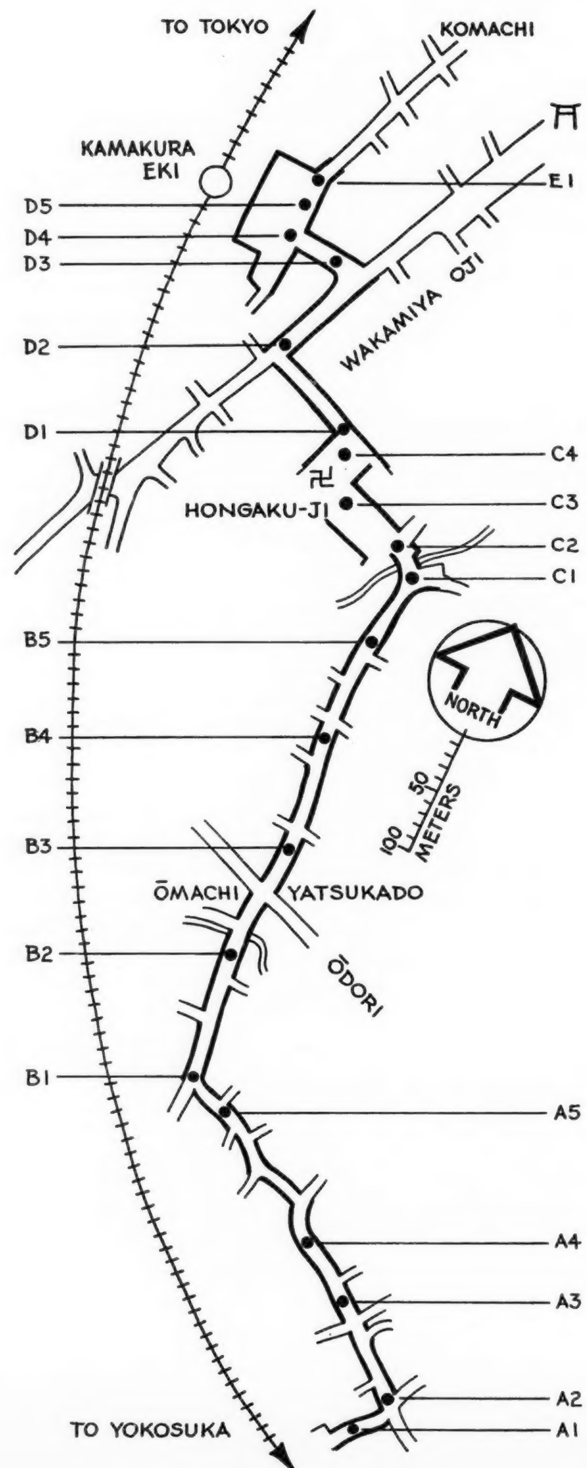


KAMAKURA STATION

Philip Thiel

OUR HOUSE in Kamakura is on the south-east edge of Omachi, or "big town." Omachi is the central area of the city, and is surrounded by outlying areas whose names indicate either the presence of past activities, as "storehouse place" or "lumber merchants guild," or are descriptive of their geographical configuration, as "fan-shaped valley" or "small stream plain." The main street of the city is the mile-long Wakamiya Oji, which runs in a nearly straight line from the beach of Sagami Bay, on the south, under three monumental torii up to the precincts of the great Hachiman Shrine at the foot of wooded hills on the north. The Yokosuka Line of the national railway sweeps through Omachi on an embankment, in a great arc following its western and southern boundary; and crosses Wakamiya Oji obliquely on an overpass just south of the Kamakura Station.

The twenty-minute stroll from our house to the shopping street at the Kamakura Ekimae (Kamakura Station Front) takes us across Omachi and through five different precincts each with a very different character. In the course of this walk ample evidence will be found to support Fosco Maraini's sour characterization of the Japanese city, but as the following experimental photographic representation of this walk may show, there are a number of positive aspects to the experience. Maraini refers, of course, to what might be called "conscious" beauty: that which is not only man-made, but made with an intentional expressive purpose; either classical or romantic in character. The visual qualities of the Japanese city, on the other hand, derive from the "unconscious" attributes of the unplanned, statistical effects of many men's activity: analogous in a way to the processes of nature in forming a natural landscape. It is just these qualities of the city which it is to our advantage to discover and to learn to appreciate for the principles they suggest.

In Kamakura these qualities result from a number of factors: an (up to now) pedestrian-based way of life, the compactness of low buildings in a land-scarce area; and from a culture in which group affiliation is the traditional pattern for the organization of life. The first two are reasons for the consistent human scale of the lanes, streets, areas and spaces, and account for the open flux of life. Shops spread their wares at your feet; restaurants display their menu in wax models in a glass showcase at the entrance; artisans labor in open-front shops: sidewalks are a mostly dispensed-with luxury. The third becomes manifest in the traditional local festivals of neighborhood temples, shrines and merchants' flags, and seasonal plants and flowers (often artificial, but nonetheless effective) and at times the pervasive sounds and smells of drums and incense. Also contributing to the readability of the scene are the patterns of dress (in part remnants of the sumptuary regulations of the Tokugawa era, when all things were specified according to class and status): thus there are the different school uniforms of the children, the full-length white "kappogi" aprons of the housewife; the crested "happi" coats of the carpenters, masons, gardeners and laborers, and the blue apron of the delivery boys. The office worker wears his "high collar," the artist his long hair and beret, and the "instant wife" her make-up and red hair dye.

FROM OUR HOUSE (precinct A) the way leads between head-height fences enclosing small detached houses and gardens. The narrow path varies constantly in width and direction, and opens suddenly on a wider paved street. Along this the buildings are closer together, (precinct B), and most of them house a commercial activity. The road crosses a stream, intersects "Odori," the major street leading eastward out of Kamakura, at Omachi Four Corners, ascends and curves around a slight rise, and then descends to another bridge over another stream. Here the way leads on the right to the long entrance to the Myohon-ji temple, left, over the bridge to the entrance gate of the Hongaku-ji temple, or with another right turn, straight on again. Over the bridge and through the gate, (precinct C), the temple courtyard opens out: diagonally across it is a lesser gate that gives onto the small side street that runs between the large buildings of the Kamakura Post Office and a cinema; (precinct D), both fronting on Wakamiya Oji. Down this street to the left is the railway embankment, pierced by the narrow slots between the brick piers of the overpass: to the right stands the second great torii: red, at the head of the cherry tree allée leading up to Hachiman. Between these two monuments are clustered the post office, city hall, police station and fire department; as well as a welter of banks, restaurants, food markets, beauty, real estate, dry goods, drug and clothing shops. Up towards the torii a short street on the left leads directly toward the Kamakura Station, on the far side of the ekimae. This space is lined with restaurants, a bank, bus and taxi office, and a department store; and is banked with buses on the south and taxis on the north. In a corner behind the taxis a red sheet metal torii marks the entrance to the narrow Komachi ("small town") shopping street, (precinct E): a veritable retail intestine, designed to extract every possible piece of money from the passer-by.

The photographic documentation of this sequence on the following two pages is arranged to be read from the bottom upwards. The successive views ahead in the direction of advance are connected by black, and this device also indicates turns to the left and right. The other photographs show the lateral views at the points of the sequence at which they occur; and the location of all photographs is keyed to the scale map of the route.

B5

B4

B3

B2

B1

E1

D5

D4

D3

D2

A5

A4

A3

A2

A1

START HERE - READ UP

D1

C4

C3

C2

C1

PARIS DIVIDED

by Philippe Aries

WITHIN the last century Paris has almost completely renewed itself. The old post-medieval city has vanished, and only a few fragments remain, caught in the flood of new streets and new buildings that swept over the old quarters beginning in the middle of the 19th Century and flowed far out in every direction.

A transformation as vast as this cannot be explained simply in terms of administrative decisions or speculation in real estate; it cannot be explained in terms of a relatively modern concern for urban esthetics and plan. It was in fact the consequence of an immense population movement which brought more and more people to the capital, men and women who were active and enterprising, and (it is important to note) increasingly specialized in occupation. It was this influx which eventually produced a division between place of residence and place of work, something unheard of in the old urban pattern, and which remade the city to suit its own needs without thought for the past.

Thus the piercing of new streets, the construction of new buildings merely translated into stone the growth in numbers and specialization of the population of Paris. Every social group as it becomes influential promotes its own particular kind of dwelling, even its own particular taste in monuments. The diffusion of an architectural style serves indeed to indicate the expansion of a particular way of life. Seen in this light a dwelling is a three-dimensional commentary on a set of vital statistics.

In 1850 Paris still belonged to a bygone age. The most densely populated sections at the beginning of the last century were still contained within the ring of fortifications dating from the 14th Century; of the present day arrondissements (or administrative subdivisions) four of those on the right bank of the Seine represented the most congested district. Lack of space imposed a special way of life on the people of Paris, a pattern of behavior and a set of customs which they abandoned when the city at last burst out of its stifling confines and expanded into new areas. Whenever there is overpopulation, social specialization is impossible; there can be no poor quarters and no prosperous quarters, merely a teeming throng of humanity where all classes are heaped together, pell mell. One and the same building will accommodate an aristocratic household in the depths of a quiet, almost provincial courtyard, dark shops on the noisy and dirty streetside, and numerous apartments, rented rooms—some respectable, others miserable. Each city block is thus a complex microcosm, a sample of urban society in all its variations of birth and fortune. Nor is there any free ground, anything resembling the open spaces of the average middle class residential section in the 20th Century.

This crowding together of a great diversity of classes within a small area encouraged small business enterprises; street vendors did not live far from their rich clients, the tavern was not far from the dwelling—in fact they were neighbors, sometimes on top of one another. Consequently no one had to go very far from home to transact business or to do errands. Furthermore, how could anyone travel any distance from home in that Paris of narrow streets? "The Parisian of 1800," notes one commentator, "spent his life like a snail in his shell."

Yet if people seldom went out it was not merely because of narrow streets or traffic, it was chiefly because they saw no need. "The Roguon family," said Balzac, "never moved in any circle of friends. They never left their shops. They knew absolutely no one. Outside of their trade they literally knew nothing; they were even ignorant of Paris. For them it was something which stretched to either side of the rue St. Denis."

We should think of the Paris of the first half of the 19th Century as a compact mass of small autonomous cells, without mutual relationships. And from this state of affairs there derived a particular social setup: despite the population density and because of its fragmentation, this large number of individuals crowded in one small space never constituted a "mob" with mob reflexes and mob instincts. Each person in the Paris of 1800 had his own relationships—few perhaps, but sufficient to people his or her solitude and on occasion to trouble it with something like drama. Sustained by his social environment, the individual was not aware of his isolation. He escaped that dreary solitude which overwhelms the modern city-dweller, the sense of being an anonymous soul lost among thousands of unknown but identical persons. It was a small and complicated world, not a simplified collectivity reduced to a few stock characters. Individual isolation and collective uniformity, two conditions essential to the forming of a mob society, neither of them existed at the beginning of the 19th Century in Paris.

Beyond the ring of outer boulevards the situation changed. There in the newer sections the weight of the past, of tradition, of accumulated habits was lighter. One moved out there not because others had lived there previously, or still lived there, but by choice or from interest. Furthermore—and this is an important fact—one did not deliberately choose to live in a business or commercial section. Later, there were in fact two distinct residential sections: one for the well-to-do class to the west, one for the poorer class to the east.

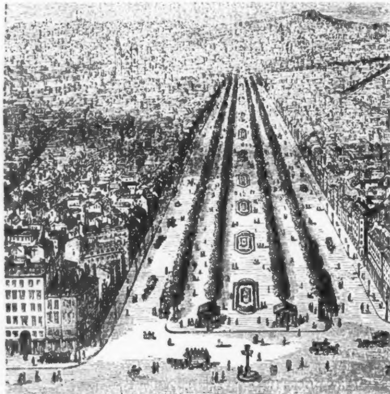
Dwelling, place of work and place of recreation are crowded together in a small space. Watermen's race on the Seine. (18th Century).

Small business enterprises flourish where there is social diversity in a small area. A violet vendor, and a brush vendor; two of the "Cries of Paris" of the 18th Century.

Narrow streets impede traffic and create small, self-sufficient neighborhoods inhabited by all classes. A street leading to the Seine. (18th Century).

The ola section of Paris was until Haussmann the scene of many revolutionary uprisings. Street fighting in 1848.

A boulevard created by Haussmann in the heart of the old section. It served to speed traffic and to destroy an old way of life.



OF THE two sections, the one to the west was the older; it dated from the 18th Century. In that period, there were already signs that the aristocracy and middle class not merely wanted isolation and privacy but wanted to leave those quarters where the population was mixed in favor of quarters especially built for the new occupants, where one could live among one's own kind, far from the crowd. Here there was comfort and a kind of intimacy unknown in the congested, dilapidated core of the city.

The new quarters which were opened in the west in the 18th Century contained not merely the estates of rich financiers but entire neighborhoods. Whether these were the work of speculators in real estate is beside the point; if speculation flourished here in the last third of the 18th Century it was because it foresaw the needs of a clientele: a clientele of rich people eager to flee the close quarters to live among themselves in a fashionable part of town. The idea is not novel today; neither is it rooted in history. It dates from the second half of the 18th Century.

And the process thus begun continued until 1850. Toward the east of Paris there stretched the domain of work. Workmen tried to live near their workshops. By the end of the 18th Century the Faubourg St. Antoine showed signs of becoming an industrial and populous zone. This marked the tentative beginning of large scale indusrty, of the concentrated capitalist factory, although until then the products of craftsmen had sufficed to meet the needs of the market. The development of the "popular" quarters in the eastern part of Paris after the first half of the 19th Century was further encouraged by the importance of the Canal St. Martin; after its completion during the reign of Napoleon I it was used by the railways of the north and east with their freight stations, workshops and increasingly numerous personnel.

It was in this manner that the eastern part of Paris assumed an industrial and "popular" character, while the bourgeoisie and nobility pre-empted the west. From that time on a new city grew up around the old medieval center. The newcomer to Paris settled by preference in the more spacious western section if he was rich, in the blocks of new houses if he was poor and a "mechanic." He knew no one, but that did not matter. His work kept him far away from home most of the day, in the office or workshop. He returned only to sleep and sometimes to eat. He had few chances to form contacts with his neighbors in those caravanserais, sordid or sumptuous as the case might be. And precisely because he was isolated, lost in the anonymous crowd composed of people vaguely like himself he became aware of the ties which made him part of the crowd. He felt a solidarity with those people whom he did not know as individuals, but in whom he recognized his own image. They shared the same way of life, the same manners, the same habits, the same dress, the same budget. A mass thus came into being whenever an individual associated himself with a strange and impersonal mob.

THE OLD part of the city, deserted by its more prosperous inhabitants, tended to become the business center, even though small popular sections persisted within it. As a result, the rich found their homes separated from their places of work. The distance across Paris began to present traffic problems unknown to the merchant of the previous age who had lived above his shop or office. To go from one place to another the businessman was obliged to pass through masses of high, closely built houses, through narrow alleys impassable for carriages. As the city began to expand to evolve specialized residential and work sections, everyone was affected by bottlenecks and traffic jams. The first omnibuses in Paris had to follow the only possible route, the large boulevards, and to go around old Paris without venturing into it. There then developed a pressure on the part of the inhabitants of outer Paris to cut some sort of passage into and through the old center. For this area was not only impervious to the new currents of traffic, it was all too often unsafe for the bourgeois who went into it. It was in fact still populated by a mass of easily aroused workers. Between 1789

and 1850—the period of growth—Paris behaved like a revolutionary city, where the masses incessantly intervened in public issues, invading parliament or the Hôtel de Ville. The celebrated "Days" of those decades transpired according to a prescribed scenario: the crowd rose, besieged the public buildings, blocked the narrow streets. Either they succeeded in their aim—or else they failed; and when they failed, the surroundings of the Hôtel de Ville were cleared in the course of difficult and costly street warfare, and the insurgent mass was thrown back to the Canal St. Martin to the east.

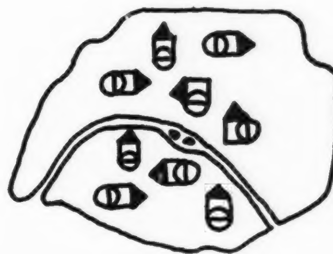
The bourgeois living in the west grew impatient of these popular uprisings, particularly because in moving to their specialized upper class quarters they had lost familiar contact with the crowd and understood it less and less. They could no longer tolerate the constant threat to public institutions. It was painful to them, moreover, each time they went into the center to have to rub shoulders with the unwashed mob in filthy streets. Their peaceful and comfortable homes in the west gave them a sharper awareness of their own security—menaced (so they believed) each time they crossed the outer boulevards.

The pressure ended by the invasion and transformation of the old center. The remodelling of the ancient city was a lengthy undertaking. The changes were most numerous during the term of office of Haussmann. As a result of the series of demolitions and expropriations, continuing even into our own day, building lots in medieval Paris increased in value. The poorer people who once inhabited the quarter found it impossible to meet the rising costs of living—when, indeed, they were not evicted. In the new buildings erected on the site of the old ones there was no longer space for attic apartments, for cheap small rooms wedged in between the more expensive apartments. Diversity and disorder were not to the taste of the speculators who planned and built the standardized bourgeois apartment house. From the time of Haussmann on we find the same general layout in every Paris apartment house—a layout with no room for modest tenants.

One important result of this was that Paris ceased to play its traditional revolutionary role; it became less and less a city of barricades. After the Commune in 1871 the capital tended to be a moderating element in the life of France. With the withdrawal of the poorer element to the east, nationalistic or reactionary movements gradually took over the streets. In 1936 the victorious Popular Front tried to direct the workers' manifestations toward the bourgeois quarters, toward the Champs Elysées and the Etoile, but the parade lacked conviction. One sensed that the crowd was ill at ease, intimidated by the unfamiliar landscape.

The two great periods of suburban growth for Paris were during the introduction of the railroads and again at the turn of the 20th Century. This latter span of years from 1891 until after the First World War coincides with a significant change in the industrial character of the whole Paris region. The growth of suburbs is, to be sure, not exclusively an industrial phenomenon; a wide arc of the suburban ring is composed of residences, some rich, most of them modest. Nevertheless the violent urban explosion of the 20th Century is closely linked to the advent of new types of industry in

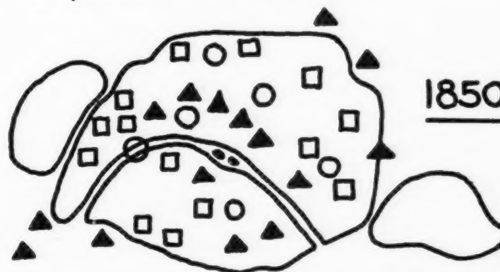
figure 4



1800-1850:

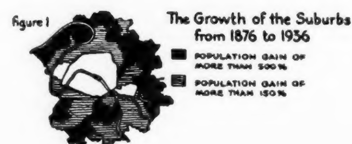
THE CITY IS STILL A COLLECTION OF HOMOGENEOUS NEIGHBORHOODS.

□ = dwelling
▲ = place of work
O = place of recreation



1850-1900:

THE CITY HAS BECOME DIVIDED: WORKERS LIVE IN THE EAST, THE RICH LIVE IN THE WEST; DWELLING, PLACE OF WORK AND PLACE OF RECREATION (NOW INCLUDING PARKS) ARE OFTEN WIDELY SEPARATED FROM ONE ANOTHER.



the evolution of the specialized city

the Paris region that were destined in time to change the character of its population.

Until 1906 the order of industries in Paris, classified according to the number of workers in each, remained what it had been in 1847. The garment industry headed the list, followed by construction and woodworking trades, then weaving and textiles. Consumer industries employed most Parisians. But from 1906 on this order was drastically altered. Industries producing not for the consumer but for the processor came to the fore: especially the building and assembling of motors for airplanes and automobiles. At present they employ at least a third of the working force of Paris.

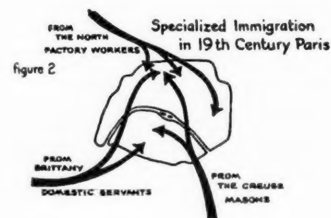
BUT THE OLD style artisan-craftsman did not always move over to the factory, in fact most of them stayed away. This element in the second half of the 19th century included many men who were highly skilled, alert and self-educated. They enjoyed reading, attended adult education courses and many of their children qualified for white collar jobs. The daughters became secretaries or stenographers, while the sons went into small businesses; many became teachers. If a few of the craftsmen were assimilated into the factory proletariat, most of them became part of the lower middle class.

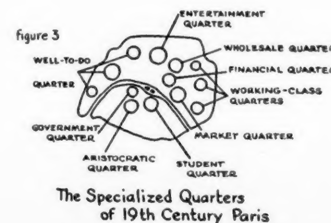
The workers for the new factories were recruited from quite a different world: from among the peasantry or the small craftsmen of provincial towns. A rural or semi-rural background was the prevalent one. The rapid growth of these factories over a period of twenty years encouraged a new influx of immigrants, especially after 1914. Country dwellers, cut off from their traditional environment, were abruptly plunged into an industrial landscape without a past, where cities grew feverishly in a few years. A town of subdivisions like Drancy expanded from 1,000 to 51,000 in three decades.

The great proletarian mass which assimilated these immigrants as they arrived not only separated them without a hope of return from their past, it also imposed a new personality on them. And there could be no resistance to the process. The newcomers lived by themselves; without ties to either city or country, without traditions, without space, they formed a formidable hostile mass which the Communist party knew how to exploit. It knew how because it managed to penetrate a complex psychology incomprehensible to the Parisian who lived only a few subway stations away.

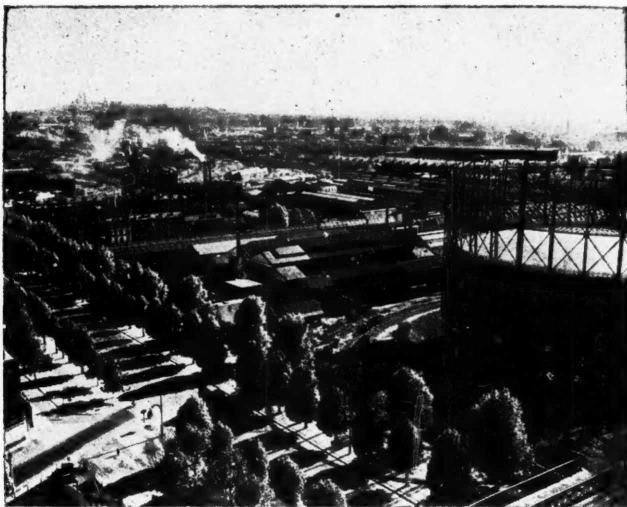
IT SHOULD be noted that this red zone, inhabited by an uprooted, disinherited proletariat, was not the product of the 19th Century industrial revolution. It evolved much later; it dates roughly from the First World War. Furthermore, the brutal and primitive mentality which is typical of it is perhaps a temporary phenomenon, destined to last one or two generations at most. Already it is evolving rapidly; the second proletarian generation is more and more resembling the traditional Paris worker: observant, inquisitive, quick to take on new ideas, well aware of his intellectual superiority over the provincial worker. But this second generation, unlike the city worker of a century previous, is not interested in climbing the social ladder. In the 19th Century the brighter workers abandoned craft industries for white collar jobs, but today the average factory worker, at least the qualified one, is less eager to change his way of life. The way of life itself achieves a new and superior status. A specialist is looked up to and well paid, sometimes better paid than an engineer. Communist and labor union persuasion has certainly helped reveal to the worker his social and economic importance. Today the factory worker's son does not inevitably aspire to leave the factory. He knows he has already achieved a number of middle class privileges: security, comfort, education, *and without abandoning his class,* his status. And a powerful status it is; for it permits him to make his weight felt in government decisions.

IN THE region immediately outside Paris social evolution is no longer what it was in the 19th Century. It is no longer a matter of individual self-betterment, a matter of a family abandoning their inherited ways in order to move up into another class. It is not

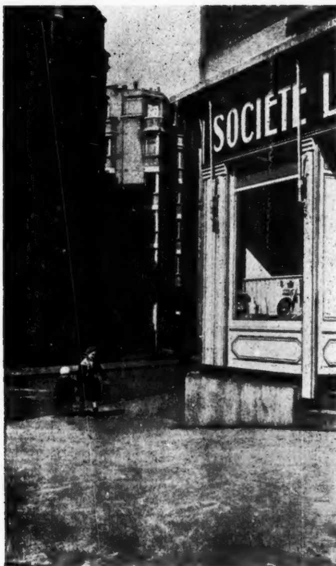




The Specialized Quarters of 19th Century Paris



The specialized city landscape; largely the product of 20th Century heavy industry.



Many new apartment houses have been built outside Paris since the war; but for every eight new inhabitants there are only six dwellings.

The tradition of craftsmanship and technical skill continues to flourish among the suburban factory workers.

even a matter of becoming middle class; it is now a *collective* upgrading, intellectual and material. An entire class, or an important fraction of it, acquires *en bloc* the advantages hitherto reserved for the bourgeoisie, and without becoming part of the bourgeoisie.

This kind of social evolution has important demographic consequences. The primitive proletarian of the mid-19th Century was prolific; he scarcely counted either his children or his women. He lived in a state of nature, often in bestial conditions. Whenever a more ambitious individual managed to detach himself from this mass, he affiliated himself with a lower middle class group with different manners. Here the recently uprooted worker learned the taste of respectability—composed of very little genuine self-respect and a great deal of hypocrisy, to be sure. But there is always hypocrisy where there is moral awareness. Nowadays, however, this shift takes place *en masse* without contact with any other social group; and thus there is no way of acquiring another set of moral values.

When I say moral values I am not passing judgment. I am simply indicating a certain set of traditional *mores* transmitted through several generations. The Paris worker of today, even when educated and well-to-do, preserves a remnant of his proletarian background. In that society notions of moral behavior are very different from that of the middle class. The bourgeois is a Malthusian in the sense of practicing birth control; but he hides the fact from himself and maintains a certain regard for family and child; he at least gets married at the town hall. On the other hand, according to good authority, officials in the most populous industrial communities estimate the number of couples who set up housekeeping without legal formalities at twice the number of legal marriages; and according to the same authority the number of abortions in Paris equals the number of births. This, to be sure, is not a monopoly of the working class sections; but in other groups it is a matter of shame; among the proletariat it is

FROM HOME TO PLACE OF WORK:

The white-collar invasion of Paris in the morning,

and workers on their way to a suburban factory.

openly admitted. Thus an originally prolific proletariat goes over in one generation to a radical Malthusianism. What decreases the number of births is not a slow evolution as among the middle class; it is a brutal throttling of life, open and avowed. And from this attitude there inevitably ensues a total reversal of values. One can even foresee the day when the middle class will be more prolific than the working class.

A NEW SOCIETY, a proletariat which has transformed itself within the span of a generation, has grouped itself in this manner around Paris, but *around* it only. Except in one or two peripheral sections the proletariat does not penetrate Paris properly speaking. Its domain is in fact outside the old fortifications, especially in the immense working class agglomerations near the automobile plants of the great western curve of the Seine. A red belt encircles the city, while within the city itself moderate, middle class opinions continue to gain ground. Moreover, the two societies live each according to its own laws, completely independent of each other. On occasion they threaten each other, but the distances between them are too great for any direct action.

WHAT conclusions are we to draw? Despite the dynamism of its suburbs, a large city, especially a capital, grows more as a result of the extension of middle class functions than as a result of industrial or working class developments. Generally speaking, the current Paris population presents the spectacle of a vast bourgeoisie, compact, powerful and diversified. In the last half century the non-industrial professions have increased more than twice as fast as all others; doctors, lawyers, businessmen, office workers, officials have acquired a growing importance in the makeup of the city; the bourgeois character tends to increase. This is clearly visible in the flood of humanity which spreads out from a large railroad station between 8 and 9 in the morning: a mass of white collar workers. The tendency can also be seen in the steady advance of commercial establishments and offices into the residential quarters. Today the young typist rather than the traditional midinette is the most characteristic figure in Paris during business hours.

What is true of the small country town is true of the large city, though on an infinitely vaster scale: services and business, far more than agricultural or industrial production determined urban growth in the 19th Century. At present the city dweller is typically an employee, and from this there develops a special demography, a little like that of a county seat—a constantly growing population, a constantly falling birthrate; in the city immigration fills the gap between births and deaths.

IT IS possible that in the course of the 20th Century economic evolution and the need for a large labor force will bring the industrial proletariat into closer contact with a Malthusian bourgeoisie. Thus a new social stratum will be added to those dating from the last century. Such a contact would have dramatic consequences, resembling what anthropologists call a clash of cultures. In the large cities it entails the almost total sterility of the most primitive elements in the population, the newest arrivals, that is to say.

But the old foundation stock which in Paris comprises a population better adjusted to city life and already rooted in Malthusianism, resists the general collapse and in one way or another, manages to survive.

PROSPECTS OF ISTANBUL

David Gebhard

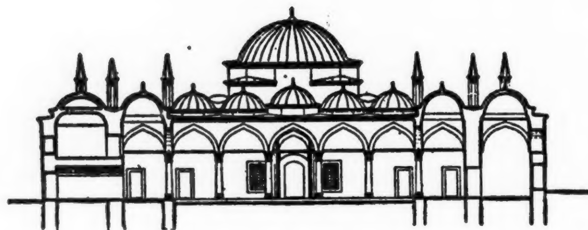
More than all the other cities of the eastern Mediterranean, Istanbul has that aura of romance which Europeans and Americans associate with the Near East. When cities over the world are becoming more and more alike, Istanbul has managed to retain its own distinct exotic quality. It has been able to do this because of its striking location and because the remains of its older civilizations have not yet been swallowed up by contemporary architectural forms.

Istanbul is essentially a country within a country, for it is different from the other urban centers in Turkey. It is, indeed, not really a city at all; like London, it is a group of communities, loosely tied together by the thread of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara beyond. Beyoglu, the old European section, is what most foreign visitors think of, for here on its high hill overlooking the Bosphorus is situated that isle of middle class Americanism, the Istanbul Hilton, and several other fashionable hotels and restaurants. From this background the traveler sallies forth, and like someone seeing a film at a theater or television in his own living room, he sees the sights of the old city—the great Byzantine Hagia Sophia; and the famous mosques, Suleimaniye and Sultan Ahmet, the Blue Mosque and the Covered Bazaar.

This piecemeal version of Istanbul is not solely that of the traveler; this is how the inhabitants themselves think of their city. Stamboul (the old Constantinople and Byzantium) is for them a separate place, a museum of sorts. Though it contains the new municipal building, the main railroad station, and the University, it is not really thought of as a part of Beyoglu or of the well-to-do communities located towards the Black Sea to the north. Across the

THE TOURIST PROSPECT:

ROMAN
BYZANTINE
MOSLEM



Bosphorus, Üsküdar, Kadaköy and above all Moda and the Islands are regarded as places to live during the summer, but people always return to spend the winter months in the "city," meaning of course Beyoglu.

For the many suburban dwellers who live in the small towns on the Bosphorus the water itself provides the easiest access to the city. Innumerable passenger and automobile ferries and small open boats continually bring passengers to and from Beyoglu. Lining the shores of the Bosphorus, and in many places cantilevered out over the water, are palaces and small and large houses, most of them built in the late 18th and the 19th century. These were once served by water, and their pattern of docks and boat houses is Venetian.

Certain visual patterns immediately impress themselves on the newcomer to Istanbul. First there is the magnificence of the site itself, comparable only to that of San Francisco, Naples, or Rio de Janeiro. No matter where you are, the sea, whether the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn or the Sea of Marmara, seems to dominate the city. The steep and varied hills offer continual vistas of water, vistas so many and varied that you easily lose your sense of direction. In one way or another all of the ancient winding streets, as well as the new boulevards seem to lead to the shore. Apartment buildings and houses take little or no account of the need for sunlight and air, but by various means, some highly ingenious, they all strive to catch a glimpse of the water. Thus from a distance the buildings are seen as a jumble of façades making up a complex three-dimensional pattern.

THE SECOND IMPRESSION is one of incompleteness; the city as a unified visual element is not complete, and un-

Left: Obeliske of Theodosius I
Hagia Sophia
Beyoglu and The Golden Horn

Right: School connected to the Suleimanye Mosque.
Entrance to old Seraglio.
Mosque of Sultan Ahmet.

doubtedly at no time in its history did it ever approach completion. The government ousted in 1960 had instituted an ambitious program of rebuilding, in many ways like that of Haussmann in mid-19th Century Paris. Vast boulevards, six and eight lanes wide, have been ruthlessly carved out of the city, leaving along their sides partially demolished offices and apartments, many literally sliced in half. The new boulevards are impressive only if you do not look at the patched-up buildings and if you ignore the misery and confusion which must have resulted from the destruction of so many dwellings without adequate replacements.

And not only do you have the feeling that the city has never really been completed, in part or whole, but that the inhabitants never have been overly concerned with maintenance. A large fraction of the older houses and public buildings have the appearance of being abandoned, and the newer postwar offices and apartments look as if they had been built at least fifty or sixty years ago. In many cities individual houses and even whole urban patterns have mellowed through a natural process of aging. But this is not the case in Istanbul. The state of the buildings, the roads and other works of man suffer tremendously when compared, as they are day by day, with the sheer beauty of the site. What little maintenance there is, is either shoddily done or becomes semi-permanent in terms of scaffolding and patches, stones and débris.

Unhappily this tawdriness has been reinforced by several American contributions to 20th Century urban life. Our type of advertising has plastered the buildings and hillsides of Istanbul, and bulbous, chrome-encrusted automobiles dominate even the smallest of streets and lanes.

Yet perhaps it is really only possible to appreciate Istanbul if you ignore questions of social significance. By reacting solely to the formal esthetic aspects of the city, a wide range of new experience is within your reach. It is only from high on a hill or from an airplane that the city seems to be dominated by the domes and minarets of

One of the ambitious new avenues cut through Istanbul. The volume of traffic is normal.

The wooden houses (mostly 19th Century) of central Istanbul.

The planner's (and stranger's) nightmare: a maze of streets, blind alleys, open squares without system. Near the Golden Horn.

Karaköy, the entrance to the European city from across the Golden Horn. The Galata Tower is visible.

THE PROSPECT OF STREETS

its many mosques, its remains of Byzantine churches or its palaces. For those who live *in* the city and who walk or drive through its streets, its visual quality comes from its wooden clapboard houses. The box-like quality of these three- and four-story houses has been further accentuated by the cantilevering out of the upper floors, not only beyond the lower level but very often at an oblique angle to it. Thus a street pattern of these houses is composed of a rich variety of obliquely faceted planes, and at the same time the varied facades are united through a similarity of forms and materials into a coherent overall whole.

With frequent fires and earthquakes, few of these wooden houses are much more than one hundred years old. Most of them were built at the turn of the century and like their somewhat earlier American counterparts reveal a delight in the use of the jigsaw and the lathe. Some are encrusted in decorative scroll and turned work, applied in such profusion that our American examples would appear bleak alongside them. This opulence of detail always remains basically two-dimensional, echoing the Islamic approach to architecture and its close relation to the decorative and applied arts.

In contrast to the wooden Turkish houses, those of the former Greeks and Armenians (there are few still living in Istanbul) are of stone and brick and more accurately reflect the succession of styles of the past century. Touches of Gothic, Greek, Roman and even Art Nouveau, briefly in vogue at the turn of the century, are each to be seen in their facades.

Today the beautiful wooded hills which overlook the Bosphorus both on the European and Asiatic side are rapidly sprouting modern apartment buildings whose design seeks to imitate the current fashion in France or Italy. Since almost all of these are planned as row buildings, one abutted against the other, their street facade is their only "modern" aspect. With few exceptions they are potent arguments against the current International style, for they are a superficial application of design motifs bearing little or no relation to the building's interior. Added to this defect is the poor craftwork in the buildings and their general air of shoddiness. The machine precision upon which the International style is based does not fare well in Istanbul. But once inside, it is easy to forget their faults; the view of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn or the Sea of Marmara always dominates their living rooms.

The cobblestone streets upon which the older Turkish, Greek and Armenian houses abut are not really streets as we think of them; they are narrow open spaces (almost light courts) where children play, adults sit and talk, and the family wash is hung. A visitor who wanders through them feels as if he were invading the privacy of a house and its yard. The overhanging upper floors, the warm tactile sensation of the wood exteriors and the uneven surface of the cobblestone streets combine to create a scale in harmony with the human use of the area. To a hygiene-minded American these streets are unquestionably dirty, unhealthy, lacking in air and sunlight; still, they possess a personal scale almost entirely lacking in the cities of North America.

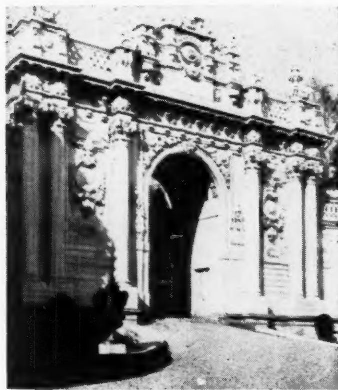
As in many European cities, this personal scale is regrettably disappearing in many parts of Istanbul, to be replaced by contemporary French, Italian and especially American spatial designs based primarily on the supremacy of the automobile as opposed to the pedestrian. Not only are these new ideals aggressively stated in the boulevards cut through the city, they are also being applied with equal vigor to the areas surrounding the older public buildings. Formerly these mosques, palaces and fountains were enclosed and even squeezed by houses and small shops. Their monumental character was only revealed from afar by their domes and towers and minarets. Seen in their original crowded environment of house and shop and narrow street, these buildings maintained an intimate scale which was carried over into their open courtyards and even into the interior spaces.

But now their surroundings are being opened up, with the result that they are now experienced as free standing isolated sculptural objects entirely divorced from their setting. Although the clearance process has increased many times the amount of open space, the actual space available for human use has been drastically reduced. At least some of these new open areas could have been informally developed to counterbalance the more closed-in atmosphere of the streets. But, on the whole, they have been conceived of as Baroque settings for the buildings, not as places to simply sit or walk in, or where children might play.

●

Other attractive features of Istanbul that are now disappearing are the many small, intensely cultivated vegetable gardens scattered between or behind the closely packed dwellings and the small courtyard, once such an integral part of the older Turkish houses. Not only did these gardens (and the few that are still left) provide a much needed open area, but the very lushness of their growth provided a welcome contrast to the buildings themselves. With the yearly increase in land value, such plots as still remain will undoubtedly be sold as building sites for new multi-storied apartment buildings.

As in any city, the character of the streets and districts of Istanbul is displayed not only in the buildings, but in the attitudes of the people you meet. In Beyoglu, the modern sector, all activities are geared to a rapid tempo. People walk quickly and, since the sidewalks are narrow, they push and shove; and as a general rule theirs are the manners you might meet during the rush hours in New York or London. But when you leave the central area and walk down toward the Bosphorus the atmosphere changes. Men stand, or walk slowly in groups; tables and chairs occupy the sidewalks where men sit engrossed in games. It is like a small Anatolian village in central Turkey.



The Ottoman heritage:
A turn-of-the-century wooden dwelling.
Entrance to the Sultan's Palace. (1853).

THE ARCHITECTURAL PROSPECT

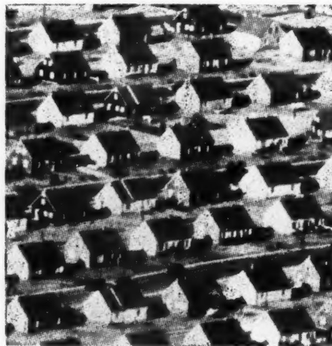
To anyone who is conscious of contemporary urban planning, Istanbul illustrates the many dilemmas and difficulties being faced by older cities all over the world. How are they to grow in a truly organic way? How are they to maintain a meaningful tie with the past and at the same time to participate and contribute to the day to day activities of the mid-20th Century? Yet, in the final analysis, it is perhaps this very clash and conflict of the opposing interests which produces a truly organic existence for any urban pattern. Without the presence of contrasts, it is difficult to understand the historical growth and character of any city.

A change in idiom:
The new Istanbul Hilton (model).
An International Style apartment house overlooking a traditional mosque.

THE MANY GUISES OF SUBURBIA

ANYONE WHO HAS been around will have no trouble in immediately recognizing this kind of community:

IT CONSISTS OF A hundred or more small dwellings, almost identical as to size, construction and plan, all apparently built at much the same time. The community, located by itself in the midst of farmland, appears to have been designed all of a piece: in the layout of the streets and roads, in the siting of the houses, in the central location of the public square there are traces of an overall plan—usually a modified grid. Every family in this community has pretty much the same income, the same schooling, the same religious background, the same way of life. Early in the morning the men go off to work and leave the place to the women and children; they come back tired late in the day. There are few if any jobs in the community itself, and very little commercial life; a trip from the house to get food is one of the chief diversions of the women. Religious activities and women's organizations flourish, and so do men's organizations during their free time. Considerable thought is given to correct and colorful holiday attire, both by men and women. There is no cultural life in the urban meaning of the term, but on the whole the inhabitants seem to enjoy their routine existence. They do not openly object to the pressures of convention and are suspicious of eccentricity—particularly when it takes an ostentatious form. Family life is made much of, and children are early taught to respect the unwritten laws of the community. Outsiders visiting the place are usually appalled by it; they wonder how anyone withstands the atmosphere of conformity, and object that the community, for all its isolation, is not really country; for all its compactness, not really urban. What they chiefly see and deplore is an overall uniformity—in architecture, in occupation, in routine, in dress and manners.



If the reader has identified this community as being an approximation of the average middle class American suburb or housing development he will have been correct; but he will also have been correct if he identified it as a Southwestern Indian Pueblo or a Chinese farm village or an Italian village like Silone's Fontamara or a farm community in Eastern Europe or Asia or Latin America. Such communities all differ as to economy, land tenure, geographical situation, size and age and degree of technical proficiency, but the way of life is in many important respects the same in all of them. Whatever the means of livelihood of their wage-earners—office or factory work, work on a neighboring estate or on a small plot of ground—these places appear to exist because their inhabitants want neither the isolation of the open countryside nor the anonymity of the city; what they seem to prefer is a small scale society where happiness comes (or is supposed to come) from conformity to a generally accepted set of traditions and not from the pursuit of individual freedom. Nations older than we take this point of view more or less for granted and even assume that it contributes to the common good. Certainly few of them have examined the tradition-minded community as closely and as critically as we have examined our new suburbs. The absence of men from most European farm villages during the daylight hours, for instance, does not seem to have produced anything like the abundance of psycho-sociological analysis that the same situation has inspired in America.

NEVERTHELESS it might be well if we ourselves studied some of those communities in order to find out a little how they have evolved, physically as well as socially, and what quality it is that they possess which enables them to multiply and endure. For it looks as if suburbs and a suburban way

of life would be with us for a long time to come; and if we somehow learned to see them as belated American versions of an ancient and relatively effective world-wide community form, instead of as land-speculation induced nightmares we might adjust to them a little more gracefully and intelligently than we are doing now.

SUBURBS AND PLANNERS

By Herbert J. Gans

SOCIOLOGISTS HAVE long been concerned with the effects of media content on the audience, but urban sociologists have paid little attention to a parallel topic, the effects of the community on its residents. They have usually assumed that the community—whether defined ecologically, sociologically, or politically—can have a direct effect on the lives of its residents. In recent years, journalists—and some sociologists—have argued that the move from city to suburb has direct effects on the family stability, sociability patterns, religious participation, voting behavior and mental health—not to mention conformity and status-seeking—of previous city residents. The city planner proceeds on the basis of a similar assumption: that the re-arrangement of the physical environment not only increases the efficiency, orderliness, and esthetic appeal of the community, but that these in turn will enable—and perhaps encourage—the citizenry to practice a middle class version of the good life.

A theory which separates actual effects from spurious ones, and thus indicates the real determinants of community behavior would be useful not ouly to the sociologist and the city planner, but to a variety of professionals concerned with the betterment of community life. Probably the best way of approaching community effects is to study people who move from one community to another, and to observe the changes in behavior and attitude that take place through a series of before-and-after-the-move interviews.

BEHAVIOR changes can be classified into two types, intended and unintended. *Intended* changes are those which were stated or implied by residents as predispositions held before the move. They are thus achieved predispositions. Often, they are the reasons for making the move. *Unintended* changes have come about independently of prior predispositions, and may have resulted from the change of the community. Before such changes can be attributed to various physical and social features of the new community, however, the sociologist must eliminate other possible causal factors. This can be done by showing how the community impinged on the residents to bring about the changes so attributed, and what features of the community were involved.

For example, people who have newly arrived in the suburbs usually report improvement in family morale. This change is due primarily to the fact that suburban residences are larger than urban ones, so that individual family members no longer get in one another's way. This is an intended change, and one of the major reasons for the move to the suburbs. Conversely, increased interest in local political affairs is for most people an unintended change. It comes primarily as a reaction to rising taxes, which in turn is due to the fact that suburbs attract predominantly families with school age children.

THIS, briefly is the effects model with which I have been working. At present there are few studies against which to test it, and most of these involve only the move from city to suburb. A review of these studies, and of my own as yet uncompleted research in a new suburb near Philadelphia suggest the following generalizations.

The amount of behavior change following the move to the suburb is relatively small, and most of the behavior patterns involved are of minor importance. Berger's study of California autoworkers and my study of a white-collar population which moved to the suburbs show that people do not adopt the behavior patterns which have been postulated as an effect of suburban living, or urge their children to do so.

Most of the behavior change which does take place is intended. The satisfactions of home ownership and the increase in family morale resulting from more living space stem from the two major reasons for suburban migration. Mothers who are freed from constant supervision of, and worry about, their children's activities indicated that this was an important pre-suburban wish. Respondents who reported an increase in sociable activities indicated that they had hoped to find this in the suburbs, having been lonely in city neighborhoods occupied by residents of a different age and class.

Unintended changes take place, but their effects vary not only with the community but with the characteristics of the people involved. For example, in large suburban communities like Park Forest or Levittown, residents are exposed to neighbors with a wide variety of religious, ethnic, and regional backgrounds. For most people this is a refreshing, although unintended, change, since it adds enrichment and variety to everyday life. For people who have been used to living within a single ethnic or religious enclave, however, the new heterogeneity may prove disturbing.

Some other unintended changes which had different effects on different people were: Improvements in health and disposition; separation from close relatives; financial problems, resulting from the fact that the cost of suburban living is always higher than initially estimated; becoming direct taxpayers, and therefore developing a more direct interest in the activities of those who set tax rates; greater use of the car for shopping; somewhat longer commuting time; less spare time, mainly because of the amount of attention devoted to the house and garden.

Incidentally, another effect of suburban life: being farther away from the city's cultural facilities, bothered almost no one. For the suburbanites I studied, the city spelled only dirt, crime and congestion, and since they had not used the city's cultural facilities before they moved, they did not miss them now.

Most of the changes, whether intended or unintended, can be attributed not to the community but to the house-type. The major behavior changes are a result of the move from apartment to house, and are reported by previous apartment dwellers whether they lived in the city or the suburbs. Suprisingly few behavior changes can be attributed to the overall community social structure, or to the suburban qualities of the physical and social environment.

The fact that the community itself does not stimulate significant behavior change would seem to conflict with sociological research which shows the effect of group structure and group norms on individual members of the group. However, the community is a group only in the most liberal sense of that term. Most people have little interest in the community affairs, except in times of crisis, and most of the community's laws, institutions, and public actions have little effect on the

basic routines or the significant goals of its population. Participation in community affairs is voluntary, and unlike the primary group, the clique, the cohesive ethnic enclave, or the classroom, the community demands little attention or loyalty—that is, community spirit—from its members. The overall community climate of opinion may require minor readjustments in highly visible behavior patterns, but, otherwise those who deviate are usually allowed to pursue their own way of life as long as it does not conflict with the majority's.

THESE GENERALIZATIONS are based on preliminary findings, but, if they can be verified by systematic research, they raise some important questions both for sociological theory and planning policies.

If the move from one community to another does not result in numerous or significant behavior changes, the effects of the community stipulated in ecological and planning theory must also be questioned. Thus, the planner's ability to affect behavior through physical re-arrangement of community features is likely to be minimal. Moreover, if most behavior change is intended. the realization of a community plan is affected strongly by the predispositions of its intended occupants. Plans must either accord with these predispositions or the plan must attempt to change them. The planner assumes that new plans will stimulate new predispositions, but there is no evidence to suggest that this always happens. Equally often. such plans are rejected because they frustrate existing predispositions.

The planner has traditionally paid little attention to the relationship between plans and predispositions. Planning began as a reform movement, not a client-centered service, and when predispositions conflicted with the requirements of planning ideology, they were rejected. Consequently, plans that catered to client predispositions have usually been pre-empted by the private housing market, although even the builders have not been sufficiently concerned with the customer's detailed wishes, except in periods of a buyer's market. When planners have come up with better ways of achieving predispositions than builders, their recommendations have usually been accepted. The curving streets that are now commonplace in suburbia were first advocated by planners. They found ready acceptance because they slowed down auto traffic, and thus made it somewhat safer for children to play on the street; they also had status functions, by distinguishing the suburb from the city. They were accepted by the builder because he could get more lots out of the same acreage than with the grid plan. Generally, however, the planner has advocated policies that fit the predispositions of the upper middle class, but did not fit those of the rest of the population. For example, his advocacy of high density urban housing has so far found favor only with the cosmopolitan upper middle class. His proposal for increasing suburban density to cut down urban sprawl is rejected by people who feel that row-housing lacks privacy, and that it is less desirable for other reasons than the single family house. The planner's advocacy of more open space has also received little support, partially because the kind of open space he favors is not very important to the people who are supposed to use it.

THE PLANNER CAN find better ways of achieving people's existing predispositions, and he may be able to change them. However, he can do so only if he attempts to understand and respect the existing predispositions, and tries to find solutions that will take them into account. Where a change of predisposition is in order, the planner must be able to prove that the change will be beneficial to the people for whom it is intended. This can probably be done only through carefully planned innovations, which must first be treated as experiments and studied systematically for advantages and disadvantages before they can be advocated as more general policies.

COMMUNICATIONS

To the Editor of LANDSCAPE

Regarding the distinction between the analysis of the interior and exterior of a dwelling ("Essential Architecture," LANDSCAPE, Vol. 10, No. 3), I would add the simple thought that when the exterior is rich, various, organic, quiet, the "functional" adaptation of it makes sense to analyze. Also, then, a man lives importantly outdoors; and he wants (is satisfied with) a small enclosure all his own. When the exterior is, as often at present, noisy and mechanized, there is more need of spaciousness for the private soul. Thus, a country house can be small; a city apartment must (for me at least) be large.

PAUL GOODMAN

The Editor of LANDSCAPE

Peter van Dresser's article, "The Modern Retreat from Function," in your issue for Spring 1961 is sensitive, sensible, and stimulating.

I should like to question only one point which concerns the "dreary but efficient monoculture of cotton, corn, wheat and tobacco" in so far as it concerns tobacco. It is dreary—probably; efficient—possibly; but monoculture—rarely. There are few "powerful and capable men who operate the great machines" here in North Carolina but rather more frequently *they are* "marked physically, spiritually and materially by the demands of their occupations." Other than that I have no quarrel with Mr. van Dresser.

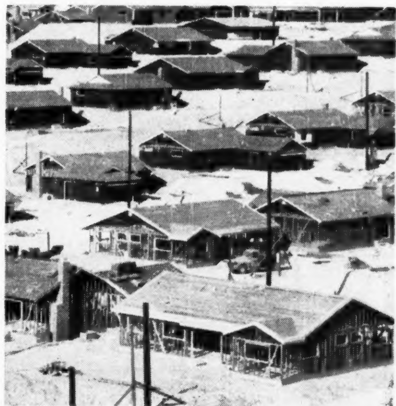
MARGARET C. DRENOWATZ
Head, Tobacco Literature Service

Before . . .

THE RISE OF ORCHARDVILLE

Gordon Edwards

. . . and after



ORCHARDVILLE is a conceptual model representing citrus and avocado communities being engulfed by the tide of metropolitan urban sprawl in Southern California. Orchardville is changing—new tract housing developments, the new shopping center and the new four lane freeway, complete with grade separated interchange, are radically transforming its landscape.

The Chamber of Commerce calls it progress; the citrus and avocado growers aren't sure what it is. Their orchards aren't orchards any more but land for speculation. At least that is the way the tax assessor sees it, and taxes are going up again. Many growers have sold out and retired. They would have preferred to start a new orchard "farther out," but almost all of the good land in the region was already developed. There was no "farther out"—the frontier is closed.

Orchardville, located some twenty-five miles from the metropolis, is growing, but over half the land is still vacant. It isn't used for orchards because the location of the avocado and citrus trees has a remarkable relationship to topography. The orchards are unusually "frost sensitive." Avocado trees and citrus trees are subject to injury when the temperatures go below 28°F and 27°F respectively. Much of the orchard country is low rolling hills divided by shallow valleys. The orchards embrace the hill tops in charming irregular patterns, while the valleys retain their natural cover of chaparral and oak. This is not an accidental arrangement; because of air-drainage the valleys are subject to frost conditions which preclude orchards. Unfortunately, the new subdivisions have been replacing the orchards, not the chaparral and oak. The orchards are easy to clear (just cut off the water and burn the trees) and the land has already been graded. Furthermore, the hilltops can be subdivided into "view lots" worth three or four thousand dollars more than a non-view lot. The irony is that picture window views of beautiful green orchards on the surrounding hilltops are swiftly becoming views of more picture windows.

WHY IS Orchardville changing? Why are all the new houses pushing out the orchards? Why is this green country town being transformed into another monotonous enclave of suburbia?

The automobile of course plays an important role by permitting the worker to live greater distances from his place of work. But the key factor is the rapid industrial development of Southern California with its related increase in jobs and population. And this industrial development and subsequent suburban growth may well be greatly accelerated in the next forty years. The economics of overland transport costs versus mass-production efficiencies now benefit the large metropolitan area. We are in the grip of a new dynamic of manufacturing expansion resulting from the exploitation of the present super-concentration of population by efficient mass-production enterprises.

Still other economic factors are reenforcing the drive towards industrial development in Southern California. The President's Materials Policy Commission some time ago pointed up the growing insufficiency of many domestic raw materials, and our greater dependence upon imports. Martin Meyerson, the city planner, put it this way: "As the country becomes more dependent upon imports, accessibility of cities to ocean-going vessels may well increase in importance." Thus the harbors of Los Angeles and San Diego will make Southern California an important terminal for the vast deposits of raw material from Asia, Australia, South America and the entire Pacific Basin. It will also be a point of least cost for the transfer of both raw materials and of manufactured products to markets in the east. Building upon its existing capital and labor, the area will become a basic industrial center, and in the wake of this shift of primary industry there will follow a secondary shift of the fabrication of lighter manufactured goods. Concentrations of plants, people and traffic will, as a result, still further increase.

ORCHARDVILLE was changed from an agricultural community with a population of about 2,000, to a repetitious suburb primarily through the development of subdivision houses built up in a monotonous uniform pattern. The process of suburbanizing Orchardville can be described in phases. The first phase is the *filtering down*. A small, well-financed group of commuters build large custom homes on the best view lots. The luxurious scent of orange blossoms and the visual delights of an evergreen forest are additional incentives. Some even buy an orchard and hire one of the local ranchers to maintain it. But most of them find that half an acre is enough for house, patio, barbecue, garden, swimming pool and parking, with the nearby orchards providing open space amenities much as the ocean provides open space to beach front homes. Unwittingly, the well-to-do exurbanite starts a fashion. The various activities of the "country life" set are reported by popular periodicals and in social columns. Finally, it becomes marketable through status advertising. Thus Orchardville, the "exclusive" place to live, filters down to Orchardville the "popular" place to live.

Phase I

the filtering-down phase

THE SECOND phase is the *tax assessor's phase*. As larger numbers of commuters invade Orchardville, seeking the good country life, land prices spiral upward. The population is now about 5,000. Taxes reflect speculative land values rather than agrarian land values. Continued suburbanization brings special assessments—first for a larger school, then for an expanded water supply and finally, when the commuters outnumber the ranchers, sewers. Under increased tax burdens, the ranchers' profits are naturally diminished. Many continue the cycle of maintenance, irrigation and harvesting until that "bad year" when the market drops a few cents and it doesn't pay to pick the crop. Then much of the land ownership shifts from the rancher to the real estate developer. The landscape of the assessor's phase is indicated by the dead branches in the trees of unirrigated groves.

Phase II

the tax assessor's phase

The third phase is the *subdivider's phase*. Dead trees are burned, streets are extended and the maximum number of houses permitted by law and the housing market are crowded in. The monotonous rows in tract houses are often a parody of their larger, more elegant, predecessors of the filter down phase. Swiss-chalet styled facades alternate with Japanese-modern and traditional ranch-style facades in a futile attempt to break the monotony. In this phase huge billboards, long strings of flags, Burma Shave style signs announce the advantages of living in "Exclusive Pleasant Hills," "Distinctive Rolling Acres" and "Charming Avocado Heights," all with low down-payments —or better still, no down-payment at all. The emphasis on altitude (hills, heights, etc.) appears to have some mysterious market appeal, perhaps a carry-over from the first phase. Ironically enough, the subdivider usually levels the hills to squeeze a few more lots out of the acreage, and so the tract house seldom has any view other than the street and house across from it. The population has now reached 18,000.

Phase III

the subdivider's phase

THE FINAL PHASE is the *filling-in phase*. Until now the subdivisions have developed in a scattered fashion. From the air, Orchardville has resembled a patchwork quilt of white roof tops and green orchards. Now with streets and sewers available the gaps between the subdivisions are steadily filled in—the shopping center and the freeway make their appearance and the population is 21,000. The view now has a sameness no matter where one looks. And then one begins to wonder what kind of future Orchardville has. Will the present homeowner grow weary with the monotony, when the same easy monthly payments can get him a better home farther out? Will Orchardville become an area of low density blight and eventually the urban renewal problem area of the future?

Phase IV

the filling-in phase

But the filling-in phase is not the end. Most of Southern California's Orchardvilles have not yet been invaded. The pattern of future growth may well be characterized by that well-worn phrase, "Urban Sprawl." The push of secondary industries to the peripheries of cities would continue; housing developments with their larger and larger shopping centers would multiply; the whole complex would be laced by vaster and more intricate freeway systems. As this process gathers momentum, the traditional environmental amenities of the region recede into the California Myth. The tidal waves of immigrants and their automobiles have already drowned the original coastal lowland landscape, and they are rolling toward the desert, toward the mountain and subtropical valleys. Total inter-urbanization could no doubt be achieved by the end of the century, as the California population pushes towards 20 or 30 millions.

But as planner I still persist in asking: Can this urbanization be achieved in another, more rational manner, with preservation of key landscape values and with a full realization that already mere land for settlement has become a sharply limited resource? This is a bitter pill for Southern Californians, who have enjoyed a surplus economy which permits the luxury of aimless waste without apparent catastrophe, to swallow.

The problem can be approached in terms of regional development in the broadest sense. Since we live in a time when the major portion of both public and private effort is channeled into choosing between lesser evils, the need for thinking in terms of great hopes and great plans is essential. From a broader regional point of view, we can see that the "sprawl-inducing" industrial development has so far been concentrated in the congested urbanized areas. Now it is generally assumed that industrial concentration is technologically efficient because of factors of distribution, location of power, raw material, and because of belt-line techniques. But this is true only in a limited sense. Industrial concentration actually imposes a great social cost on labor in particular, and on the community as a whole. Labor is obliged to commute great distances daily merely to accommodate this metropolitan concentration of industries. In the vast expanses of Los Angeles commuting consumes for some workers two to three hours a day. For the worker this time is labor time even though he is not paid for it. As the Goodmans point out in *Communitas,* "If parts of this expense of time and effort were made to appear as an item on the payroll (as in the celebrated portal-to-portal demands of the mine workers) there would soon be better planning!"

This commuting process represents a major social expense, involving billion-dollar freeways, two and three-car families, and insurmountable congestion. But it could be substantially reduced by locating secondary industrial plants near where workers live. In the past, the industrial community has been carefully separated from the residential community; the factory was considered a physical nuisance. Today that attitude is changing, and even that archaic administrative tool called "zoning" is recognizing the merits of integrating "desirable" industries with the living community. Indeed, some progressive communities are adopting performance standards which invite selected light industries right into residential areas.

If eliminating the social cost of excessive commuting, and integrating light industry into the living community are both desirable goals, then a new and more rational approach to urbanization is a distinct possibility. In the case of Orchardville such an approach might have two basic objectives. First: planned urbanization of the valleys, and second: preservation of the existing hilltop orchards. By planned urbanization I mean the allocation of land in the valley for a balanced community of light industry, both low density and high density housing and adequate community facilities *prior* to the invasion of commuters. This I know would require a major break with the traditional planning procedures, according to which the planning com-

mission is formed to deal with community problems which are *already* pretty well institutionalized, and a staff is hired to determine the course of a community which has *already* embarked on a course of haphazard self-determination. But the local planning authority is not equipped to handle problems of metropolitan urban sprawl. What it *is* equipped to do is formalize the pattern of suburbia, a pattern which (except for a glue factory next to the single family house) would probably have evolved in an informal manner anyway.

The secret of planning prior to the impact of metropolitan growth is a flexible attitude toward the distribution of light industry in the whole metropolitan complex. If we manage to introduce local employment opportunities as well as better living conditions we can quite possibly eliminate the need for freeways to the employment centers, the need for an additional family car, and eliminate excessive hours of commuting. Many persons of course will still prefer the traditional suburban way of life. What I am offering here is an alternative, a community which would retain the small town values, a stable family life and the face-to-face relationships which people vainly seek in the endless spread of suburbia.

ANY ATTEMPT to recreate the small town would be romantic folly. What can be done is a bringing together of all the elements of the metropolis (industrial, agricultural, residential and commercial) on a more human scale—a scale which a child can comprehend and enjoy—into a work and leisure environment which preserves the existing values of the landscape. In the case of Orchardville this would mean protecting the orchards on the frost free hilltops *both* for their unique beauty and open space, and for the ranch families which help make the social composition more varied and provide living connections with the past.

It also means providing a variety of employment, industrial and white-collar, as well as commercial. It means providing both high density high-rise apartments for older people, bachelors and young couples, as well as standard single family dwellings. Higher density could be encouraged in the form of garden apartments and row houses with an emphasis on parks and schools which children can walk to. A more intensive use of the valley would be a desirable complement to the evergreen open spaces of the surrounding hilltops. Contrasted with the sameness of endless suburbia we have the richness and variety of an individual synthesis of the metropolis.

Finally, a regional plan for Southern California must enumerate the existing resources of seashore, mountain and desert, as well as agricultural land. Designs for community development in these areas must be prepared *before* our remaining landscape is urbanized. Thus within the context of overall design, the sprawling metropolis could at last be ordered, with a place for all functions urban and rural, and with all functions in harmony.

TOPOPHILIA

or, sudden encounter with the landscape

YI-FU TUAN

DE QUINCEY has a story to tell of Wordsworth. One night, as happened often enough, the two of them walked from Grasmere to meet the carrier who usually brought them news of the war on the continent. They waited in vain by the roadside for over an hour. No sound came up through the winding road. At intervals, Wordsworth would stretch himself on the road and press his ear to the ground in the hope of catching the sound of grinding wheels in the distance. Once, when he was slowly rising from his effort, his eyes as he later told De Quincey) caught a bright star that was glittering between the brow of Seat Sandal and the mighty Helvellyn.

The image was certainly not planned by Wordsworth. He had no time for it. The star above mighty Helvellyn took him by surprise. Such brushes with beauty are not limited to poets and painters of landscape. They occur also with relatively earth-bound people like geographers, geologists, naturalists and farmers; people who lead a fair portion of their working hours out-of-doors. The geologists, for instance, may have clung precariously to an outcrop of the Chinle sandstone in order to measure its dip. That work—that act of concentration — done, he turns around, relaxes, and perhaps in that momentary shedding of the will—experiences the beauty of what A. N.

Whiteheads calls nature *in solido.* The town planner may have walked up and down Fifth Avenue, counting and mapping news stands and shoe stores. The work finished, it may be that he too relaxes his will and so catches for the first time that day the full impact of Fifth Avenue, New York. His whole self, not just his mind, registers the urban scene. The color of the buildings, the traffic noises, the heat of the pavement burning through the soles of his shoes, the symphony of odors from the succession of coffee houses, shoe shops and air-conditioned department stores, together move in upon him as a coherent piece of reality.

SUCH ENCOUNTERS ought to be fairly common with people whose work takes them out-of-doors. But the evidence for it in writing is surprisingly meager. A geographer's book on the American Southwest may contain useful chapters on plant life, the motion picture industry, and even politics, but of the concrete landscape as registered by a sentient being, who has lived in it, there is little or nothing. In his publications the modern geologist likewise hides his deeper conversations with the earth; these he saves for his letters home. By way of contrast, we remember the pioneer geologists of the American West, people like Powell, Dutton and Gilbert. The prose of these men, lucid and usually unadorned, yet reveals a curious flavor of wonder and of genuine attachment to the things they study. Perhaps to modern eyes the color of their writing is here and there a touch too rich. Dutton at one place characterized the vista above the Grand Canyon—with what ringing magnificence—as "cliff rising above and beyond cliff, like a colossal stairway leading from the torrid plains below to the domain of the clouds above." Even in the interest of academic solidity we can hardly prefer a modern translation of it.

The geologist, with his more limited aims of understanding the earth, can better afford to curb his esthetic sensibility and means of expressing it than the geographer. For unlike the geologist, part of the geographer's job is to portray all aspects of those scenes (landscapes or regions) for which he has a special fondness. After all, most of us must have first felt the romance of our subject through some real encounter with the color, odor — the mood — of a place. It need not be the overpowering mood of the Himalayas; it may be the quiet mood of the hop fields of Kent, or even that of our own backyard; it may be the *gemütlich* air of southern Germany, with its dark forests and solid homes, which marks it off from the bright, denuded, Cézanne landscapes of southern France. So we are inspired to learn and write of its geography; yet how seldom our work reflects an understanding informed by attentive interest—more often perhaps a compilation that does credit to our will and industry. If nothing of the *Gemütlichkeit* comes out of our monograph on southern Germany, we ought at least not dodge the issue by declaring it nonexistent, merely something in the mind. For to do so would be to deny our experience; it is also to hide our literary shortcomings under a treacherous figure of speech—"in the mind"—and imply without justification the achievement of objectivity.

Topophilia or love of nature may prompt us to day dream over atlases, apply for Ford grants to Togoland, and to sweat over there. Our published works too often deny, intentionally or unintentionally, this enthusiasm. French geographers seem less inhibited, or fare better at expressing their communion with the land. Even the titles of some of their works appear indiscreet on the shelves of our professional literature: *La Personalité de la France, Géographie Poétique de Cinq Continents* and even *Géographie Humoristique de Paris.*

HERE I SHOULD like to introduce the French writer Gaston Bachelard. He is not a geographer. He is a physicist whose attention has turned from the measurable properties of matter to those which cannot be registered by instruments other than that ultimate instrument—man. These immeasurables may haunt us like the "brooding presence of the hills," or they may infuse joy and peace by their beauty and *Istigkeit.* Bachelard has written several books on this theme. Some of them, *La Terre et les Rêveries de la Volonté,* for example, are more concerned with mapping the psychologic states of man provoked by matter than with describing properties of matter as sensed by man. There is no antithesis here but rather a difference of emphasis; although this difference, if pressed far enough, will lead to the contrary positions of idealism and materialism.

Of Bachelard's books, the one I find particularly relevant to our theme is his latest: *La Poétique de l'Espace.* In it he tries to describe the images and pleasant reveries that are prompted by certain types of space, especially the enclosed space—the home. "A truly lived-in home," he writes, "contains images that provide us with the reasons or illusions of stability. Memory does not register concrete duration—time with a certain thickness. We cannot relive abolished time. We can only think about it abstractly. It is in space that we find duration beautifully preserved and made real through long abode." Or, "The house has power to integrate our thoughts, dreams, and memories. . . For man the house evicts contingencies and multiplies its counsels of continuity. Without it man would be a dispersed being."

In another book, *L'Eau et les Rêves,* Bachelard describes the images of water. In our contacts with nature, it does not seem that we are doing all the talking and seeing. This activity is certainly not all ours in the sense that we deliberately planned it. The feeling that mountains and lakes see, speak and convey is at times a strong one. Viewed as the "eye" of the earth, the lake especially appears to return the human glance. (Here, I may perhaps insert an anecdote of Oscar Wilde's: Narcissus died. The lake and the flowers wept. When the flowers asked the lake whether it wept because it too missed the beauty of Narcissus, the lake replied: "No, I weep because his eyes are no longer there to mirror my beauty.") Bachelard gives other attributes of water. Among the more in-

teresting is freshness. Water bubbling out of its source evokes the freshness of spring. Indeed in English the word for the season of renewal and for water at its source is the same. In French few vocables give a fresher, more pleasing ring than *eaux printanières.* It is curious that the epithet fresh should seem less suitable when applied to other realms of matter. A fresh wind, for instance, already carries with it the suggestion of chill.

Bachelard's *topophilia* does not appear to embrace cities. In *La Poétique de l'Espace,* he tells us how he could not sleep one night in Paris because of the ceaseless rumble of traffic. Sleep came when the city noises were transformed in his imagination into the heavy rolls of a tempestuous ocean, and his comfortable bed into a safely-anchored boat. Bachelard tells this story to illustrate how images of nature may serve as a palliative against the harangues of artifice. For me, the story also gently implies the sort of partiality that, in more strident form, is rather common among nature enthusiasts. People do not always praise wild and rustic scenes without frowning sidewise on man and his works; especially that "proud and passionate, mettlesome, mad, extravagant" work, the city. We sometimes get the impression that the poor bees and flowers are not lovable in themselves but only as palliatives against naughty man. The Chinese, for instance, are supposed to take great delight in nature. Their landscape paintings, especially those of the Sung dynasty, certainly indicate a profound awareness of natural beauty. In poetry, however, the delight in nature is frequently marred by a pathetic note. This pathos may derive from the recognition of the transience of things, or from wars, but also, less nobly, from setbacks in their official careers in the city. Chinese poets belonged to the scholarship-official class. They lived in the capital and enjoyed its glories. Then came the sad day when they fell from imperial favor and were obliged to go to the wilds (i.e., the provinces), where they sang of their love for mountains and mist, children and chrysanthemums. Behind these songs, however, there lurk not too far away the sad and wistful notes of frustration and disappointment. I think that some of the poems of Tao Yuan-ming (372-427 A.D.) and even some of Tu Fu (713-770 A.D.) reflect this. But Chinese poets do not stand alone. Turning over the centuries and to another world, we find that Emerson also cannot praise "light, wave, rock and bird" without revealing in the next line his irritation with men, "the money-loving herd." It would be interesting (perhaps also depressing) to make a list of all those nature-poems, East and West, that appear to owe their original inspiration not so much to *topophilia* as to frustrations in the more demanding concourse of men.

OUTSIDE THE net of purely human relations, the home is perhaps our first and strongest attachment. Bachelard has much to say on this. In the home memories and time are transfixed in concrete things—in a cot, a coffee table, a fading tea stain in one corner of the Chimayo carpet, or perhaps a bay window by which we have dreamed in solitude. Our affection for home is of course also based on its role as shelter. Thus we are apt to show a deeper awareness and appreciation of its furnishings in winter than in summer.

As we accumulate age and strength our interest and affection spread to broader landscapes outside the house to the garden, to the farms and to the hills. Historically also, both in poetry and in landscape painting, *topophilia* seems to have expanded from the humanized landscapes of gardens, farms and pastureland to wilder scenes. In that early Chinese classic *Shih Ching* (ca. 900-500 B.C.), poems lauded farmers who cleared brush and worked in the fields, but of landscapes loved for their own sake there was little indication until the Late Han dynasty. In the West, Homer, when he took time off from his fast-paced narrative, cast approving glances at the fat soil but only rarely at the "rosy-fingered dawn." Again in a later age it was the farm and the pastureland that received the praise of the Latin poets Virgil and

Horace. In general, Western literature showed little evidence of real delight in wild nature until the later part of the 18th and in the 19th Century. By that time the Alps were open to the more intrepid English tourists. It is pertinent to recall that Wordsworth as a child received his first and deepest impressions in the relatively untrammeled Lake Country, and that later as a young man he was profoundly moved by the grandeur of the Swiss Alps. America has the more robust Walt Whitman, who claimed to have found the law of his poems in the elemental abandon of the Rocky Mountains.

THE VISUAL ARTS show a similar broadening of horizons. Sir Kenneth Clark traces an early expression of love for nature in the beautiful and realistic plant ornaments that began to appear on capitals, and in the margins of manuscripts in the 13th century. The sheltered garden next achieved popularity as an artistic theme. In the 15th Century the first modern landscapes appeared. Among the big names then were Hubert and Jan van Eyck; and later, in Venice, Giovanni Bellini. Of Bellini, Sir Kenneth Clark writes: "Few artists have been capable of such universal love, which embraces every twig, every stone, the humblest detail as well as the most grandiose perspective, and can only be attained by a profound humility." In the 15th Century landscapes still were not depicted for themselves. They usually illustrated a theme—"Landing of the Count of Holland," for instance—and human figures were prominent. In the 17th Century lived Jacob van Ruysdael, the greatest master of the natural vision before Constable. Ruysdael's landscapes no longer served as stages for a story or a moral. To Constable

the landscape itself could convey moral ideas to the attentive painter. His works, however, show little concern with the sublime unless the cloud studies could be called such. Instead, his attention turned chiefly to ordinary scenes, *Cornfield, Willows by the Stream, A View from the Stour,* and, in his own words, to "the sound of water escaping from mill-dams, willows, old rotten planks, slimy posts and brick-work." In contrast, his confrère Turner was penetrated by a sense of nature's unsubduable force. He painted stormy seas, avalanches, whirlwinds and *Rain, Steam, Speed.* The last looks like high fantasy but was in fact based on the artist's observation in torrential rain from an open train window. So we move in time from the stone flowers and tendrils on the Chapter House of Southwell Cathedral (13th Century) to Constable's slimy posts and Turner's turbulences. These images give us very different aspects of nature, but since they were all conceived in love for things as they are—not in obedience to personal fantasy or formal esthetic principles— the diversity of their message may simply reflect the awesome diversity of nature itself.

Geographers, I think, might take time off from their practical duties, and join—at least now and then—the artists and the poets in portraying the splendor of the earth. I do not mean that we should all start describing landscapes, and grimly plan on some future date when the entire earth will be covered with such portraits. We need no plan, we certainly have no obligation, to describe any area other than the one for which we have a special fondness or inexplicable fascination. Geographers have an advantage over architects, town planners and wildlife conservationists, for unlike these harassed people we are not called upon to give immediate judgment. Like poets and artists, we have greater leisure to taste the various fruits of the earth. Our chief duty is to give accurate and sensitive portrayal of their impact on us, and if a fruit, however beautiful to look at, tastes sour, we need not hesitate to say so. Dropping the fruit metaphor, I have simply said that nature has its grim side. It is not enough to use just the palette of Renoir.

IF TO PORTRAY the face of the earth is a worthy aim, the problem of means remains. As a geographer, my feeling on the matter is this. To receive and then give the full flavor of a landscape we first need to concentrate on its parts; its climate, land forms, seasonal coloring, history, land use, architecture and the like. But we must not stop here as we so often are tempted to do. It seems that relaxation, a mood of attentive waiting (the French word *"attente"* best expresses this), must follow the period of concentration before the landscape will yield to us its personality. Remember Wordsworth and the star over Helvellyn. Both the hard work before and the relaxation after are necessary. A superficial, impressionistic view can only give passing pleasure to the senses. Great landscape painters in the past have paid close attention to the facts of nature. The 11th Century Chinese artist, Kuo Hsi, advocated it. The details of a Bellini landscape rendered with incredible patience, proved it. Constable's cloud studies, with his notes on wind direction and time of day, are still admired for their accuracy by British meteorologists. The fourth volume of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* contains sketches of mountains and structure that might well come out of a modern geologist's field notes. As to the poets, I am content to offer the weighty opinion of W. H. Auden. He says that if a Texas billionaire were to give him carte blanche in running a training school for poets, he would make them study—besides prosody, rhetoric and history of the language—natural history, geology, meteorology, archaeology, mythology, liturgics and cooking. So poets too need facts; they too need to see nature with trained and attentive eyes. On the other hand, geographers can certainly benefit from Auden's curriculum. The course on cooking, for instance, will help us to look upon cultures and cultural landscapes with heightened appreciation. But above all, from the poets we may learn when to sit still and listen.

BOOKS

In Don P. Schlegel's review of Theory and Design in the First Machine Age *that appeared in* LANDSCAPE, *Vol. 10, No. 3, the first sentence should have read as follows: "This book on Architectural History is not primarily concerned with buildings." In the next to last paragraph of the review the sentences should have read as follows: "It reminds us of the impact of Loo's article, "Ornament and Crime," and it makes us aware of Berlage's and Wright's influence on de Stijl. Banham's method of presenting this information involves numerous quotations," etc. We greatly regret these errors in Professor Schlegel's review.*

THE CITY IN HISTORY: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects.
By Lewis Mumford

IN LEWIS MUMFORD'S latest work, *The City in History,* there are at least three main themes: the city as a creation of man, its appearance, plan and the materials of which it is built; the idea of the city, that is, the city as the embodiment of philosophical, religious, economic and political beliefs; and the city as a highly sensitive indicator of the history of civilization. These themes blend into one another, occasionally being further elucidated by excursions into specialized histories of technology, trade and exploration.

The advantages of this blending are that the history is richer and more profound because there are more opportunities of relating ideas, events and techniques to one another; examples are the comparisons of the ideal *polis* of Plato with that of Aristotle, of Venice with Amaurote, and the discussion of L'Enfant's plan for Washington. The disadvantages are that the themes pose a problem of consistency and balance in treatment and that the text occasionally becomes diffuse and repetitious. In my opinion the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Mumford's superb style, his boldness in the choice of words and in the use of metaphor, the careful attention to transitions in thought maintain a high level of interest throughout a long work which is often complex and detailed in its argument.

This work, as Mumford says in the preface, is the history of the western city, and even this excludes Spain, Latin America, Palestine, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. No one will criticize Mumford for this partial view, but the reader should never forget that it *is* partial. How representative of the urban experience of mankind is this profound study of the western city? We do not know. How often do we see in his descriptions illustrations of the leading ideas of philosophy, science, theology of the western world—philosophies of order, of man, of organic life! Neither do we know what revisions will be needed when we have in such detail comparative histories of the Muslim, Indian, Chinese or Japanese city. In their plans and structures, there are also ideals and ideas of living, the blending of religious beliefs and philosophies of nature.

Mumford's concentration on the history of the western city poses another question: Have its values now become ecumenical, is it succeeding in creating a uniform urban life? The answer lies with the non-western nations, themselves possesors of proud urban traditions, which are not only growing in numbers, but are becoming more self-conscious about the meaning of their own cultural histories.

I bring these questions up because there is a real danger in reviewing this book too narrowly. For Mumford is primarily concerned with humanity. Deeper themes than the urban idea itself—the precariousness of life, the control or lack of control over the technical forces shaping civilization, the intense emotional nature of the human race—are the justifications for this magnificent demontration of the need of a philosophical, historical, and geographical understanding of urban life.

The book draws on an astonishing variety of ideas—nominalism and the medieval style of life, Toynbee's concept of etherialization, the language of modern psychiatry—but Mumford sometimes makes the paths opened up by him difficult of further exploration. There are no specific page citations; several authors with exceedingly interesting ideas are referred to but their works do not appear in the bibliography, and sources of some valuable historical summaries are not given. The book, however, has an excellent index, an impressive, stimulating, and partly annotated bibliography, and four graphic sections whose sixty-four exceedingly well selected illustrations and accompanying explanations are closely related to the main themes of the text.

THE FIRST two chapters are indispensable to an understanding of Mumford's argument because he believes that it is necessary to understand the forces which originally brought the city into existence in order to understand how it has come to be as it is today. This belief in turn explains his interest in origins and in survivals, the persistence of the elements of one era into later ones.

Certain primordial dispositions of human beings toward social life, their propensity to store things and to settle down (following Carl Sauer here) are discussed, and comparisons with the social life of the animal world (animal and bird meeting grounds, territoriality) are made, but Mumford stresses the basic differences between the social life of man and that of other animals. He finds an important clue to this discontinuity in "a ceremonious concern for the dead." Sanctuaries in paleolithic caves, grave mounds and tombs suggest a civic life long before the permanent settlement appears. The city is a meeting place (a magnet) before it becomes a fixed place of residence (a container). The germ of the city is in "the ceremonial meeting place that serves as the goal for pilgrimage;" it possesses certain spiritual or supernatural powers "of higher potency and greater duration, of wider cosmic significance, than the ordinary processes of life." The emphasis here is on the non-utilitarian factors in the city's origin.

In this conjectural history, the ancient city gathers in scattered elements of social life; they are brought together within a temple and its sacred compound and within the citadel and the city wall. In his compression (Mumford develops the idea of implosion in explaining what happened) there emerged an order, discipline and industry that had not hitherto been attained, but the city also created conditions favorable to war, slavery and overspecialization. Thus its inner contradictions, its creativity and destructiveness, date from its beginnings.

"The actual emergence of the city came as the ultimate result of an earlier union between the paleolithic and the neolithic components," a union possibly supported or brought about by domestications of the grains, plow culture and irrigation. The masculine contribution, a heritage of the paleolithic hunting culture, ex-

pressed "itself as a desire to tame and control nature," to subdue the animals, to use weapons, and to attain "a predatory power over other human groups." This component merged with the "more passive life-nuturing activities that bore woman's imprint," and which were characteristic of neolithic culture. The latter was outstandingly creative in making containers (vases, vats, cisterns, barns, houses and "great collective containers like irrigation ditches and villages"); furthermore, it created a kind of life which brought man into a close and intimate relationship with organic nature. (In his writings, Mumford has consistently shown a preference for the biological and ecological traditions in western thought over the mathematical, physical and mechanical.)

The city is seen as an emergent in the paleo-neolithic community in the sense that Lloyd Morgan and William Wheeler used the term. "In emergent evolution," he says, "the introduction of a new factor does not just add to the existing mass, but produces an over-all change, a new configuration, which alters its properties." This view is friendly to ideas of origins, survivals and of continuity; he rejects, for example, Childe's conception of the neolithic urban revolution basically because revolution implies too great to break with the past. The city thus often succeeds in gathering elements from all periods and in keeping this past usable. This theme of the usable past is one of the profound truths illustrated in the book. Mumford suggests that the institution of kingship is "the most important agent in effecting the change from a decentralized village economy to a highly organized urban economy."

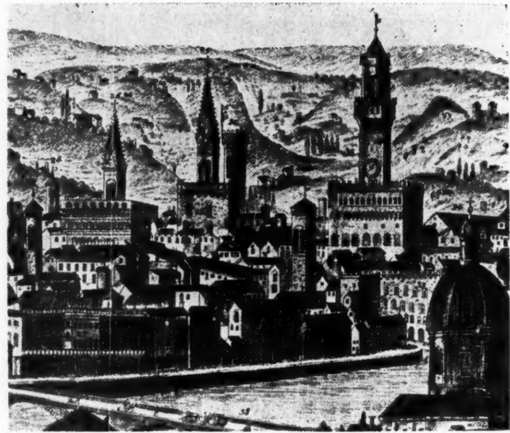
The detailed history begins with the ancestral forms of the city, continuing on to the river valley cities, through the Crete, Greek, Hellenistic and Roman periods, the Middle Ages, to the emergence of the modern city, and culminating in the contemporary urban scene. (It includes an interesting discussion of possible pre-Columbian contacts with relation to the origin of the cities of the New World.) The following remarks are intended merely to indicate the vast scope of this work; it would require a monograph to summarize the complex history which now begins to unfold.

IN MUMFORD'S description of the potamic civilizations, the city becomes a collective instrument for the change and control of nature, "under the care of a mighty god and almost equally mighty king . . ." (Very early the correlated theme of waste disposal in its relation to city plan, public health, and soil fertility is introduced:) Within the general discussion of controls, religion, monumental arts, he makes important distinctions, especially between Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Like the potamic civilizations, the Greek-type *polis* is a combination of cultural and physical conditions. In one of the most arresting discussions of the book Mumford makes the suggestion that Greek urban culture owes its distinctive characteristics to Panhellenic travel and culture contact, centering around Olympia (the games), Delphi (the chief shrine and sacred oracle of Apollo), and Cos (medicine, health, sanitoria, thermal baths.)

Neither the Hellenistic city, with its "elegant petrifaction," nor Rome is described with any warmth. (His descriptions of the cities of the ancient world are useful correctives for *The-Grandeur-That-Was* school of writing.) The vivid accounts of the Roman cloaca, the aqueducts, the arena, the streets, the traffic are among the most distressing descriptions in a book that does not eschew distressing descriptions. To Mumford, Rome is an illustration of extravagant and purposeless materialism, with, however, a creative undercurrent in the colleges and the skills of their artisan members.

Mumford is kinder to the medieval city and its precursors, the church and the monastery, because he finds new creativity and a humaneness hitherto unknown in the city. The Christian teachings encourage the establishment of hospitals, foundling homes, almshouses. He is sympathetic also because the medieval city very



Florence; ". . . . in no other city that I know is so much of the usable past still actively being used."

often was a harmonious mixture of elements derived from different periods. But he is not sentimental about it; neither the city nor the church, he says, could break through custom and privilege, and his praise is reserved more for medieval survivals in the Dutch and New England townships.

The twelfth and thirteenth chapters ("The Structure of Baroque Power," and "Court, Parade and Capital") lay the foundations for Mumford's analysis of the city in modern times. To him, the Baroque period beginning in the 17th Century, marks the start of a new synthesis following the breaking up of the old medieval order. (Agreeing with modern scholarship in the history of humanistic and scientific thought, Mumford sees in the Renaissance no dramatic departure from the past; to him there may be Renaissance elements in the city, but there is no Renaissance city *per se*.) It is an era of abstract mathematical formulation and of sensuous, uninhibited experimentation. It is also an era of the rising power of bureaucracy, militarism and capitalism. Mumford's fundamental criticism of this period is that in its cities there is too much stress on form and uniformity; its planners are too ready to clear everything away with new beginnings that are all of one period.

The criticism of early capitalism is also related to these criticisms of the Baroque; it too is anti-historic; it inhibited, and often prevented, organic city growth because of its indifference both to contemporary creative building in the city and to the obliteration of the past. Amsterdam and Bath are notable exceptions to this indictment. The harshest criticism is reserved for the mine, the factory, and the railroad of Coketown, the rail network increasing the opportunities for destroying wide areas of the countryside. Mumford's criticism of this period is similar to his criticism of Rome but for different reasons; it was so clearly a blight that it brought about creative plans, like those of Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard, which called for a new kind of city based on a new philosophy.

It is the present favorable conditions for the seemingly unlimited expansion of the city that frightens Mumford and causes him to frighten his readers. Again, there is in the background the sympathy for the organic comparison, for the idea that the city has a natural growth limit, that it should not experience senseless automatic expansion.

To him, also, the problem of the city is part of the problems of civilization; he is impatient with planning which is based on assumptions of future growth without critical examination of these assumptions. In its concentration of power, in the gradual destruction of the life-renewing rural countryside, Mumford sees the city

now as an almost invincible power leading to war and to extermination. Is this a tenable view? If the offices of power are located in the city does this mean the city exercises this concentration of power? And in this interpretation does not the city take on an existence of its own, almost holistic, almost acting as if it were a person? The chapter on megalopolis is certainly the most controversial; Mumford is at his satiric and ironic best, but the analysis is less thorough than that of the preceding periods. We should in fact know in more detail how and why megalopolis has come into being. Men seem to like urban life, soot, fumes, the cloverleafs, tenements and all. Mumford, it seems to me, does not come to grips in sufficient detail with this problem of the attractive forces that bring men to the contemporary city. (Why do densely populated areas on earth seem to become ever more densely populated? It was a question that bothered Raymond Pearl in his studies, made before the war, of world population growth.) In order to understand the attractions of city life, should we not study the history of rural life more intensively? Every western nation has its realistic literature of rural life, its bleakness and narrowness, its poverty and cupidity, its intimacy in contrast with the anonymity of the city.

It is not that Mumford ignores the reasons for the growth of megalopolis; it is true also that there is much on this subject in his previous work, but the gulf, for example, between 1938, when *The Culture of Cities* was published, and the present is already too great.

THE proper question to ask of a work like this is: Does it place a field of study on a plane which hitherto has not been achieved? I believe it has without any question. The book is an exposition of a philosophy, a plea that men take self-conscious direction of past and present achievement. It is not a program for city planning, nor it is a history of city architecture. It is normative; it is insistent on the examination of values, purposes and assumptions. It restates a truth similar to what Edmund Burke was trying to say in his famous definition of society in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. If Athens, Rome, Peking, Istanbul are meaningless, even in all their physical beauty, without knowing the nature of the ideas that produced them, how much truer is this of urban life throughout the world! In this insistence on the importance of ideas, Lewis Mumford suggests the possibilities of a deeper searching that leads to new awareness and understanding.

CLARENCE J. GLACKEN

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TOWN DESIGN

By Frederick Gibberd

Town Design, now in its third edition, continues its leadership—one might almost say monopoly—of the field. This edition, in addition to several new illustrations throughout the volume, adds a 19-page section dealing with Rotterdam's Lijnbaan, the town centers of St. Albans, Vallingby, Stevenage and Harlow, and Holford's plan for St. Paul's precinct. One regrets that many previous examples have not been brought up-to-date; the author's own master plan for Harlow is depicted as of 1952 in one instance, 1954 in another. Not only does the reader desire a more current report, he would now expect a "summing up" which would give some of the critical comments intelligent consideration. (Gibberd is too polite in almost all the examples in the "Analysis" sections. Why write that ". . . the detail design, such as fountains, seats and lamp standards, is excellent" in Vallingby and neglect the fact that the signs are chaotic and do violence to the architecture?) Now nearing completion, cannot several of the British new towns be appraised in the balanced critical manner of "Towards New Towns for America?" This question may be premature, but further to delay such criticism will only encourage unwarranted suppositions by the reader. *Town Design* is not primarily concerned with the British new towns; nevertheless, they represent the major effort in town design in this century; and, furthermore, the author is among the few who can make a comprehensive assessment "from the inside."

The following quotations from *Town Design* are offered here to suggest Gibberd's philosophy—one based on keen insight into the past and full acceptance of modern technology and ways of living in the present:

"As a physical expression the town is a thing that is seen, and, since the visual sense is a channel to the soul, that which is seen should be as beautiful as man can make it. The town must work properly and be economically sound, but it should also give pleasure to those who look at it; the technical solutions to the functional problems must be fused with aesthetic feeling."

"All new development takes place in an existing environment, and must modify it to some extent; that environment has taken centuries to shape and the design must respect any features that have visual significance. It is more than vandalism to fell a tree that has taken years to grow, or to demolish a building of fine architectural qualities; it is a destruction of the spirit of the place."

"It is now generally agreed that the large city leads only to social evil. It monopolizes the cultural life of the region, and often of the nation. Apart from its inherent evils of creating high death and low birth rates, and of breeding maladjusted social types, such as gangsters and 'wide boys,' it makes a full life impossible for the ordinary decent citizen."

"The design of small towns and villages held together as a unity because the buildings shared the same craft technique, and were constructed of local materials. After the industrial revolution, unity was confined to the large housing areas built at one time, such as the industrial slums. The unplanned development was so varied that it became almost chaotic; but it is, however, important to realize that much of the piecemeal development—this form of unconscious mixed development—even though it may have little unity, is more alive and interesting than many planned areas. . . There is little doubt that many of the slum clearance schemes of one building type could have been vastly improved had some of the existing development been retained. Far too often have existing buildings of great character and interest been swept away by a compulsory purchase order to make a slight improvement in housing statistics, or to produce a clean sheet for the architect, rather than put him to the trouble of integrating them with new development."

MARK HEYMAN

Frederick A. Praeger, New York. Third edition, 1959. $15.

THE FACE OF SAN FRANCISCO

By Hal Gilliam and Phil Palmer

LOS ANGELES—FROM MISSION TO MODERN CITY

By Remi Nadeau

These books about California's largest cities are by newspapermen, not planners. They seem to be directed to the tourist who walks into a local bookstore and asks, "Have you a book about Metropolis?" What, then, is the tourist told about Metropolis?

The Face of San Francisco is subtitled *A Fond Portrait of America's Most Beautiful City*. More than half the volume is devoted to approximately 200 handsome photographs, well-coordinated with the text. The endpapers contain maps of San Francisco proper and its downtown. Where it illuminates the description of the city, history is sketched in briefly. But one sometimes questions the authenticity of the text; the chaper on "The Skyline" is a superficial discussion of architectural principles and history—such as one

finds in guidebooks or in newspapers. When the authors must face contemporary issues, in the final chapter, "The City of the Future," they step out boldly: planning must be achieved not only for San Francisco, but for the entire Bay Area. But, curiously, prior to this conclusion the text disregards the Bay Area. One can legitimately ask how can the reader be expected to welcome the statement that this is one world, when all the evidence brought to his attention is parochial? I recall the Bay Area being mentioned at only one point—when the authors explain San Francisco's high suicide rate!

I doubt that the final chapter—well-said and honestly meant—will seem a logical conclusion to the lay reader who has absorbed the rest of the book.

Los Angeles—From Mission to Modern City is dedicated to the author's children—"sixth generation Angeleños"—proving that not everyone is an immigrant and that, in any case, Los Angeles has a history. And since Los Angeles is not "America's Most Beautiful City," the author devotes himself to the past. The text is illustrated with 16 pages of photographs, of which two are of the modern city. But this history has a point of view—that boosterism is bad. The first chapter is titled, "Tourist Go Home!"; it concludes, "This is the story of how an American Community, dedicated to growth for its own sake, became the victim of its own success." The final chapters, "Los Angeles Oversells Itself" and "Last of the Boosters," contain an all-out attack on the Chamber of Commerce and the All-Year Club, which are still trying to bring people to Los Angeles, if "only as tourists." The author refrains from attempting solutions for Los Angeles' many problems, except to insist that the first step to a sane future is the recognition that growth is not necessarily good. One is heartened to read the following in a "popular" book:

"To stop increasing their problems and start solving them, the Angeleños must begin by weighing other values besides bigness for its own sake, using other yardsticks in addition to economics. Admittedly the pocketbook has traditionally been the strongest motivator in southern California. But the region has also honored other values—healthful and pleasant living conditions, individual privacy and dignity, freedom from the hardship and inconvenience that encroach so heavily upon the enjoyment of life in many other cities. These values are gradually being lost in Los Angeles due to headlong growth. Shall such intangible but far more universal values, bearing directly upon human happiness, have at least equal weight in planning the future course of Los Angeles?

"Such reappraisal of values leads in turn to a reappraisal of the overriding purpose of the Angeleños. Their traditional goal of building the biggest metropolis in the world was fixed in the city's childhood—an age which typically chooses quantity over quality. This goal has been outgrown by a city now emerging from adolescence. The widest flowering of the human spirit, the fullest possible expression of the human personality—these are some possible civic purposes of more enduring worth."

MARK HEYMAN

Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1960. $5.95.
Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1960. $5.95.

THE ELECTRIC INTERURBAN RAILWAYS IN AMERICA

By George W. Hilton and John F. Due

The principal influence of the electric interurban railway was, according to the authors, "in conditioning the rural population to a greatly increased mobility that was fully realized only with the general acceptance of the automobile." Radiating from major cities, the interurban railway contributed to urban development, and at the same time initiated the commercial decline of many small towns.

Largely built between 1900 and 1908, the interurbans (distinguished from the suburban lines and street trolleys) never enjoyed a period of prolonged prosperity. They were important in the development of many communities for about fifteen years while the automobile was being perfected. The decline of the electric interurban railway was caused primarily by the automobile and secondarily by the bus. Today, all passenger service has been discontinued, although some 2,000 miles of line across the country are still used for a small amount of freight service.

In this study Professors Hilton and Due have prepared a 250-page history of the industry with an additional 170 pages of brief sketches of nearly 400 electric interurban railway companies in the United States and Canada. The account is a descriptive analysis of technology, passenger and freight traffic, finance and government regulation. For their chief sources, the authors used trade papers, government reports and scattered brief articles.

The volume is a readable, reliable and useful economic study of the industry. In the preface, the authors refer to the work as a general history. As such, we would prefer more detail on the role of the interurban railways in the economic and social development of the many communities, an analysis of the business management of the leading companies, and more attention to representative leaders of the industry.

CHARLES J. KENNEDY

Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif., 1960. $9.50.

THE PREINDUSTRIAL CITY, PAST AND PRESENT

By Gideon Sjoberg

SMALL TOWN IN MASS SOCIETY—CLASS, POWER AND RELIGION IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

By Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman

FROM COMMUNITY TO METROPOLIS, A BIOGRAPHY OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

By Richard M. Morse

These three volumes represent three very different approaches to the study of cities; environmental factors, social forces and historic values assuming varying proportions. Intended for the student, each offers the general reader a glimpse into the making of that collection of houses we call a city.

The Preindustrial City sets out to draw a picture of the preindustrial city, contrasting it with the industrial city. The author, Dr. Gideon Sjoberg of the University of Texas, has used an exhaustive list of references in presenting his material. The book frankly sets out to demonstrate that preindustrial cities resemble one another closely, regardless of setting or period, and in turn differ markedly from modern industrial-urban centers. Stressing similarities, the book seeks to show that preindustrial cities still to be found in Asia, North Africa, sections of Southern Europe and Latin America are of the same type as urban communities built in Mesopotamia four thousand years ago.

Dr. Sjoberg carefully evaluates the opinions of other sociologists in setting forth the three necessities for a city: a favorable ecology, an advanced technology and a complex social order. Not included as of first importance are the geographic location with direct reference to trade (which flourished in the preindustrial city) and its consequent communication with other urban centers. Interestingly enough, he defines as another necessity for a city, the rise of literacy and a large number of literati, and yet expresses wonder at the scarcity of records concerning the mass of people in the preindustrial city. But as any modern newspaper will clearly indicate, civilizations have never advanced by counting noses every morning or estimating the number of men involved in a factory, a revolutionary dream or a pressgang. Issue might also be taken with the author's contention that preindustrial society is characterized by a more rigid class structure (and since there are fewer occupations) more clearly defined class levels. Except for the ruling and priestly

classes, it would appear that most societies have had many variations in their class structures through successive years. Opportunity for advancement seems to have found some realization in each culture.

The vitality of medieval Europe as presented by Pirenne (one of the authors, by the way, with whom Dr. Sjoberg disagrees in discussing the founding of cities) comes to mind in many situations. Whether as crusader or alchemist, merchant or monk, the citizen of a medieval European city was for his time a "modern" man, eager to learn new ways. Is the preindustrial city of today rather a *non*industrial city? Is there not in the resistance to change, in the inherent traditionalism and family-centered wealth a passivity lacking in the true preindustrial city? Change has been characteristic of the development of the western world, from Mara on down through the rise of European cities. The true preindustrial city was a user of the highest technology available at the time, eager for new contacts with others, assimilating new languages. Thus the modern city, which shuts itself away from what the neighbors are doing, develops an ingrown social attitude, and becomes a non-industrial city of an industrial period.

In writing of India, Dr. Sjoberg says, "Hindu scholars have shown little interest in recording events and compiling histories . . . many of their writings are of a religious-philosophical nature . . . to an even greater extent than in most preindustrial civilized societies . . ." Is it not this concern for the abstract that has given India part of its individual personality, and held her back from more practical concerns? Perhaps in choosing so many cities as focal points in his study, Dr. Sjoberg has missed a valid clue— the cities' opinion of themselves.

The Small Town in Mass Society, a study further identified by its subtitle *Class, Power, and Religion in a Rural Community,* is written in the now classic tradition of understanding through complete analysis. The authors, Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, have thoroughly explored all the organizational levels of the small town, in this case "Springdale" in upper New York state. Town government, town opinion as expressed by the citizens and more publicly by the newspaper, town gossip and religion are all described in minute detail.

The importance of each man to a small community is stressed, but the reader feels that the unhappiness the authors seem to find in everyone studied is caused by the small theatre in which the inhabitants must live out their lives, isolated by habit and custom from the nearby urban centers. However, the picture of the village, still a prototype of the 19th Century town makes worthwhile reading for all who are concerned with people. It is interesting to see that the types associated popularly and in literature with the small town, still abound.

The story of Sao Paulo, as told in *From Community to Metropolis,* is colonial history, for the city itself is a reflection of national policies rather than local forces. With a wealth of detail, Richard M. Morse gives his city's biography, his affection for his subject not blinding him to the gross inequalities which characterized life there.

The colorful ceremonies which underlay the European-type life of the 19th Century are well described. The Misericordia Fountain was the meeting place of the slaves, and from this place stemmed the flamboyant rituals which were rivalled only the pageants of the very rich. The whole national life of Brazil is reflected in the story of Sao Paulo, since Brazil, far removed from her absentee landlords, was in essence a colony, and in many ways Sao Paulo the epitome of colonial cities. A long time learning economic and social independence, Brazil did not free the slaves until 1888.

In the descriptions of the city itself, the author traces the many changes that have come to Sao Paulo in the last sixty years. Growing without a plan, sometimes in defiance of geographic factors, the city still has agriculture at its very doors, a new élite suburb on the high lands where the new emerging industrial-commercial upper class build lavish homes, and through all its modern apartment house building, to accommodate a prosperous middle class, he notes a "vertical" change, with Anglo-American designs preferred over the formerly popular French. The author never loses sight of the fact that a city is primarily the houses which constitute it, and changes in the appearance of the city tell much of its social history.

MARY STEEN

The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1960. $6.75.
Anchor Book, Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1960. $1.45.
University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1958, $7.50.

ARCHITECTURE

MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN MEXICO
By Max L. Cetto

This is an American republication of the book published by A. Niggli, Taufen, in which the original German text was supplemented by an English translation by D. Q. Stephenson. Praeger's American edition omits the original German and contains the Stephenson English version with a new Spanish translation by Francesco Maigler. The Spanish translation corrects an error in the English text which describes Horatio Greenough as a Chicago sculptor; the Yankee who resided and worked in Florence is correctly described as an author and sculptor. Max Cetto, a former pupil of pioneer modern architect Hans Poelzig, is now an important Mexican architect. He has given us an intellectual architect's perceptive view of the work of his compatriots and professional colleagues, O'Gorman, Mario Pani, Felix Candela and others, over the past decade.

The photographs and plans of recent buildings which constitute the bulk of this book were selected from various sources. In some respects, Max Cetto has covered again the subject matter of the Society of Mexican Architects' 1956 publication, *4,000 Años de Arquitectura Mexicana* and Carlos Abregon Santacilia's *50 Años de Arquitectura Mexicana: 1900-1950,* but he places more emphasis upon very recent work and comments upon the past in a lengthly introduction. The reader may also be familiar with some of the earlier books in English on Mexico's modern architecture by I. E. Myers (1952), Trent Elwood Sandford (1947) and Esther Born (1937).

In his introductory text the author briefly describes the development of the modern movement in Mexico and attempts to characterize the style. He then passes rather abruptly into an historical survey of outstanding pre-Conquest and Colonial architectural monuments. Some aspects of the relationship between native arts and crafts and modern work are then sketchily considered, especially the problem of traditional art as a source of leitmotifs or as a catalyst. Cetto's more detailed survey of the modern movement in Mexican architecture begins by a tribute to the pioneer work and teaching of José Villagrán Garcia and his outstanding pupils, Juan O'Gorman and Juan Legorreta, architectural leaders of the 1930s. Villagrán's early functionalist design for the studio and residence of Diego Rivera, 1929-30, in San Angel, may remind the reader of Le Corbusier's studio for Amadée Ozenfant. Although the theoretical functionalist basis for a new architectural style advocated by Villagrán: devotion to truth, reason and subservience to the discipline of practical and social purpose, has been largely neglected, or even rejected, as doctrine by a great number of contemporary

architects in Mexico, as in other countries, nevertheless it is more often honored in practice than as a theoretical doctrine; and, though it may be waning it continues to exercise influence upon modern architecture. Cetto calls attention to some of the mannerist qualities which characterize the recent trend: the freedom from restraints, the artificialities and contrivances. He asserts that the Mexican is by nature emotional, impetuous, and does not make or remain for long a good classicist, much less a dedicated functionalist. For example, Juan O'Gorman, the early functionalist, has recently created for himself a strange grotto house in the Pedregal. Although the work of Mies van der Rohe is imitated by a school of young architects and, according to Cetto, this has had a generally beneficial effect despite the young Mexican's failure to get behind the form to Mies's way of thinking, it is sheer snobbery to erect one-story, glass enclosed, steel skeleton residences in a country with low wages and expensive steel; moreover, the Mexican people have a traditionally keen apprecation of the contrast between architecture and nature and prefer to conduct family life in privacy.

Another problem of modern Mexican architecture is the matter of integration between the basically geometric (abstract) International Style masses of buildings such as the Main Library, University City, by O'Gorman, Saanedra and Martinez de Velasco, and the realism (representation) in the great exterior murals of stone mosaic which adorn them. Whereas Mexican architecture, according to Cetto, has assimilated the various currents of modern abstraction and organic plasticity and sought to develop them, mural art has remained realistic or bound to traditional forms in response to political propaganda. Cetto feels that the lack of constructive agreement between the modern geometric abstrac architectural style and the antiarchitectural character of the painting has led to disintegration. This, indeed, is a serious charge and deserves thoughtful analysis. It is not the specific esthetic judgment of a particular building, or group of buildings, but Cetto implies the affirmation of a broad principle: only non-objective decorative forms are suitable for the bold geometric forms of modern architecture. Unfortunately, the author devotes only a few lines to this significant problem.

The strength of the book lies in the excellent short critical statements which here and there supplement the description of materials and accounts of functions of various parts of the buildings illustrated by photographs and plans, and in the often excellent and almost never dull modern architecture in Mexico.

—EDWARD R. DeZURKO

Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1961. $12.50.

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

The Shaping Of Man's Natural Environment

By John Ormsbee Simonds

Landscape Architecture is a very broad book, written in a philosophic tone, of equal interest to designers and planners, engineers and developers, geographers and conservationists—or simply to the layman with a thirst for understanding the planning process. As the subtitle suggests, the book explores the total field of physical planning, touching both lightly and with accent upon nature—the sensory landscape—and man, the shaper; as such, it is practically written and easy to comprehend, illuminating an approach to the change of landscapes. It is a noble attempt to reconcile man's aggressive attitudes towards his surroundings, illustrating methods of selecting sites, analyzing and adapting for human functions—both visual and utilitarian. In this sense the book oversteps its subtitle and examines the *urban* environment as well: from simply articulated descriptions of the *site,* progressing in scale to discussions of the *neighborhood, community, city* and *region*—their unique attributes and design manifestations.

Mr. Simonds begins his discussion of design fundamentals with *Man*—"Volumes have been written on the conditions under which rare types of orchids may best be grown; . . . proper raising and care of guinea pigs, rats, goldfish, parakeets; but little has been written on the nature of the physical environment best suited to man." Why is this important? Man is a victim of his own planning, trapped in a mechanistic environment created by himself. "Somewhere in the complex process of evolving his living spaces, cities, and traffic ways, modern man has become so absorbed in the power of his machines, so absorbed in his new techniques of building, . . . that he has neglected man himself. His own deepest instincts are violated. His basic human desires remain unsatisfied. Divorced from his natural habitat, he has forgotten the glow and exuberance of being a healthy animal and feeling full alive."

Yet he does not call for a return to nature *via* Emerson or Thoreau and Transcendentalism. The story of man is written in his struggles *against* natural forces. What Mr. Simonds makes a plea for is maintaining some sort of coherent balance, ". . . if man is a product of environment as well as of heredity, the nature of this environment must be a major concern."

This balance that we desire is not epitomized in a static, end product but, rather, has to be translated into a way of living, consistent with an ever dynamic and expanding environment, flexibly meeting the changes of man's requirements. "It will never, in all probability, be achieved. But planning towards the creation of this ideal environment must be, for all physical planners, . . . their goal."

Today's planning exemplifies the compartmentalization of environment, hacked by specialists into fragments, perhaps statistically and abstractly exciting in academic and documentary form—but nevertheless brutal in a world of real smells, sights, sounds and textures. The author makes a plea for wholeness; or, in the simple statement, "we must rediscover nature," he attempts to convey that man is inescapably a part of nature.

MUCH has been written lamenting the loss of the closeness of our agarian ancestors to the soil and nature. But positive philosophies can develop from Mr. Simonds' thesis. He pursues his theme, doggedly, with text and photographs describing landscape character, categorizing landscapes not only to be observed but to be *used* in the planned environment, urban or rural: major and minor elements, and the forces and forms of nature; methods to preserve, accentuate or destroy existing landscape character; man-created features and the lines of force emanating therefrom.

Landscape is four-dimensional, dynamically visualized only by momentarily freezing an experience, smelled, felt, seen or heard while moving through and participating in it. It consists of ever-changing volumes, contained by walls of vegetation, topography, architectural elements or atmosphere. It exists in time, and will not be the same tomorrow or the next day. This volumetric landscape is given character by its enclosing elements, curtailment or accentuation of vista and foci. But there is more to understanding and comprehending site-space design than simply analyzing its esthetics. The earth's surface is not a plaything, to be tampered with indiscriminately. Disruption of watershed characteristics, shifting of surface and subsoils, exploitation of ground water strata and ignorance of subsurface geology are all paid for in disasters. Already we have rerouted prevailing winds and changed climates through deforestation and inudation of lands. The capability to foresee the potential side effects of an ecologically unbalanced environment (where man becomes the victim rather than victor) is the proper goal of every planner, and his technical training should encompass this sphere of activity. The landscape, while making the most of sensory and esthetic enjoyment, must be planned and designed with the utmost technical skill.

In discussing the visual aspects of planning, Simonds attempts to convey the experience which can be gained through modulation of the view and the design treatment of it. Build-up, enframement, suggestion, progressive realization, terminus, the axis and vista,

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balance, inward-outward relationships—linked by circulation (fast, safe and neutral or meandering, rich and wayward)—all go form a design "structure" upon which the symphony of landscape comprehension may build, from introduction, theme, variation and counterpoint, to climax.

The weakest part of the text is the description of the larger units of landscape—the city and region, elements which could be expanded into volumes in themselves. The slighting of such topics as the neighborhood, community and city would be serious were it not for illustrative material, diagrammatically dramatizing Welwyn, Radburn, Lechworth, Harlow, and the evolutionary sketches of neighborhood studies by the author.

Despite the initial emphasis upon three dimensional planning, the author's philosophy seems partial to the point, the line and the plane. There appears to be an overconcern with shape and form, two dimensional and decorative. Pattern, in itself, is ineffectual unless related to a more comprehensive entity which somehow expresses the sculptural landscape. This is admittedly difficult to communicate by means of words, in a way that will be interesting to a reader of another discipline. Nevertheless, the skewed pool, path and terraces of townhouse sketches and the overplayed freeform of random, traffic control elements are clichés which, to an unsuspecting eye, might negate the essence of the text.

The clarity of Mr. Simonds' writing makes the reader consciously aware of a "whole"—the environment—and the attempt to relate detail with this intangible environment is invaluable. Perhaps the reader may begin to sense landscape as a total biospheric envelope, at the bottom of which we find a thin film of life.

JOHN B. FRAZIER

F. W. Dodge Corp., New York, 1961. $12.75.

THE ARTS

THE VISUAL ARTS TODAY

Edited by Gyorgy Kepes

Professor Kepes's superbly edited and handsomely printed collection of essays by "fifty outstanding (modern) minds" might well be subtitled *Contemporary Romanticism* or *Sentimental Sensitivity*.

Divided into five sections, ranging from the social and psychological setting of modern art to interpretations of artistic values, this book provides an invaluable account of the esthetic attitudes of our time—what Harold Rosenberg has called the Tradition of the New—and a rather bad tradition it is. The "Selected Statements" of artists points this up admirably if unintentionally.

Nowhere here do we find a sense of classic discipline or of the whole tradition of western art. For most of our contemporary painters and sculptors art begins with Manet or Cézanne—or even with Picasso, Klee and Henry Moore. Léger does make a plea for an art that would be intellectually and emotionally available to the working classes but we have the feeling that such an appeal is improbable.

The old sense of art as a tension between association and stylization is lost, with a resultant gulf between artist and public. Margaret Mead points out: "The most casual visit to our campuses where modern art is produced by the yard would suggest that the gap is really widening while it might seem, superficially, to be closing." The artist has withdrawn, not only from his own particular audience, but from his function as a cultural agent to enrich and ennoble society.

Throughout the first section, which deals in fairly general terms with the needs and difficulties of the visual arts, there runs a pity for the disorganized artist in a culture he cannot or will not cope with. We live, it seems, in a period so different from the past that the difficulties for the creative spirit are almost insurmountable. But every period has been "different" and none has been without difficulties from the creative point of view. Professor Kepes's statement that "among the echoes and parallels in other human endeavors are the brave efforts of many artists of this century to find an emotional footing upon this bewildering world" might apply equally well to the 15th Century.

One of the soundest and most enjoyable sections is that dealing with the newer media, advertising and the cinema, especially the latter. These constitute a true modern art, tied to industry, so far unhampered by a large body of theory and faced with the necessity of communicating with the public if only for survival's sake.

The cinema is uniquely the art of our own time. Dependent upon creative editing, it rests upon a changing technological base and is almost always a collective rather than an individual enterprise, involving the cooperation of different kinds of technicians and the integration of several arts. Its flexibility permits fragmentation and reconstruction of the natural world yet it remains realistic in the sense that, as in the verbal arts, some vestigial element of recognition must be retained. At the same time it is an expression of contemporary disintegration of experience and representative of the drive toward new syntheses and extension of experience.

In the words of Maya Deren, "It (the cinema) must determine the disciplines inherent in the medium, discover its own structural modes, explore the new realms and dimensions accessible to it and so enrich our culture artistically as science has done in its own province." In terms of its potential, properly developed, the cinema may well become the strongest and most vital of the visual arts.

Irritating and satisfying in turn, this book is essential for anyone interested in the visual art of our time.

RONALD L. LATIMER

Wesleyan University Press, Middleton, Conn., 1960. $6.00.

GEOGRAPHY

THE HUMAN USE OF THE EARTH

By Philip L. Wagner

If all places on the earth were alike, there would be no geography. The areal variations which constitute the warp and woof of this subject are a product of interaction between numerous environmental and cultural phenomena. Professor Wagner argues that economic variables are the chief cultural phenomena which contribute to those areal variations which comprise the core of human geography.

In support of this thesis he produces three typologies of economic systems. Firstly, in terms of the mechanism of food supply, he distinguishes three types of human groups: those which collect wild plants and animals, those which cultivate domesticated plants and animals and those which depend upon others to produce food for them. Secondly, he distinguishes three types of economic or-

ganization: the subsistence economy, which produces all it consumes and consumes all it produces; the exchange economy, whose members produce to earn enough exchange to purchase their consumption needs; and the intermediate peasant economy, which produces its own consumption needs plus a surplus for exchange. Thirdly, he distinguishes the consumer economy, in which each "firm" (operating unit) produces only finished goods, from the producer economy, in which each firm obtains semi-finished products from other firms and may sell both finished and semi-finished products.

"Each individual combination of particular features of food supply, economy, techniques and spatial order that occurs in some human group tends to constitute the basis for distinctive ways of using an environment and modifying it for human use," he concludes. Many of his arguments would appear to have considerable validity in primitive societies, where many cultural traits are intimately inter-related, but they may not be quite so valid in the greater complexity of modern society.

Perhaps the greatest strength of this essay, and its greatest weakness, is Professor Wagner's knowledge of and emphasis upon primitive societies at the expense of the modern world. His Chapter 8 ("Ways of Livelihood"), for example, is a masterful treatment of primitive agricultural systems but it virtually ignores contemporary commercial agriculture. It is quite possible that variations between dairy farming systems in Wisconsin, New England and Denmark, as examples, or between the agricultural systems of the Corn Belt and the Cotton Belt are of greater significance in the modern world than are variations between primitive agricultural systems in the Tropics.

While not underestimating their importance, many students of the human geography of the contemporary scene might be rather more reluctant to assign such a major role to the influence of economic factors. Again, although the term "environment" can mean different things to geographers and to sociologists and anthropologists, the difficulty will not be solved merely by changing the adjective in the traditional geographic concept of the "cultural environment" and using the term "artificial environment" to describe the environment as modified by man.

Finally, although one is impressed by the breadth of Professor Wagner's reading in the anthropological literature of many languages, one can wish that a little less of the jargon had rubbed off in the process.

JOHN FRASER HART

The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1960. $6.00.

BRIEF MENTION

Fruitland, New Mexico, a Navajo Community in Transition
By Tom T. Sasaki

One of the Cornell Anthropological Series, this is a study of Navaho Indians. The author, living among the Indians chronicles their changing life with adaptations to new occupations and modern culture in sharp contrast to the dying tribal ways.

Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1961. $4.75.

Frontier Military Posts of Arizona
By Ray Brandes

Each Arizona military post has a brief history in this well-illustrated little volume, with photographs, map and bibliography. Areas which were scenes of extensive action receive full attention, but as each post is described separately, it is easy to use for reference material.

Dale Stuart King, Publisher, Globe, Arizona, 1960. $1.00.

Gardening Without Work
By Ruth Stout

As the subtitle, "for the aging, the busy and the indolent" indicates, this is an unorthodox approach to gardening, presented in chatty essay style.

Davis-Adair, Co., New York, 1961. $3.95.

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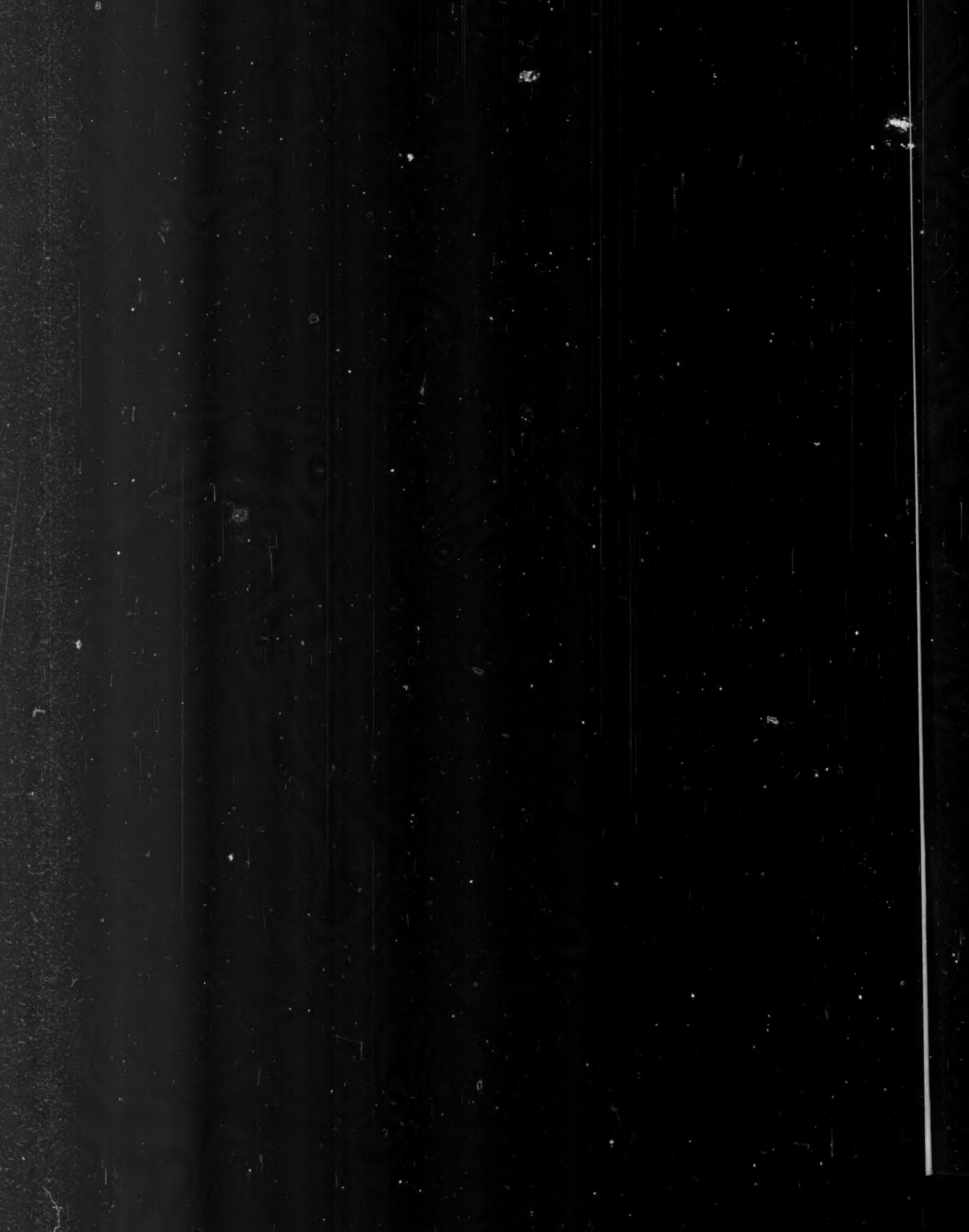
PICTURE CREDITS: Pages 4, 5: "The Blizzard of '88." Pages 6, 8, 9: P. Thiel. Pages 11, 12: "Paris in the Past." Page 12: "Time, Space and Architecture." Page 15: "La Banliue de Paris." Page 18: J. B. J. Page 19: D. Gebhard. "Europa in Bild." Pages 26, 28: Historical Collection, United Title Insurance Co., San Diego. Page 27: G. Edwards, Historical Collection, United Title Insurance Co., San Diego. Page 34: "The City in History."



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